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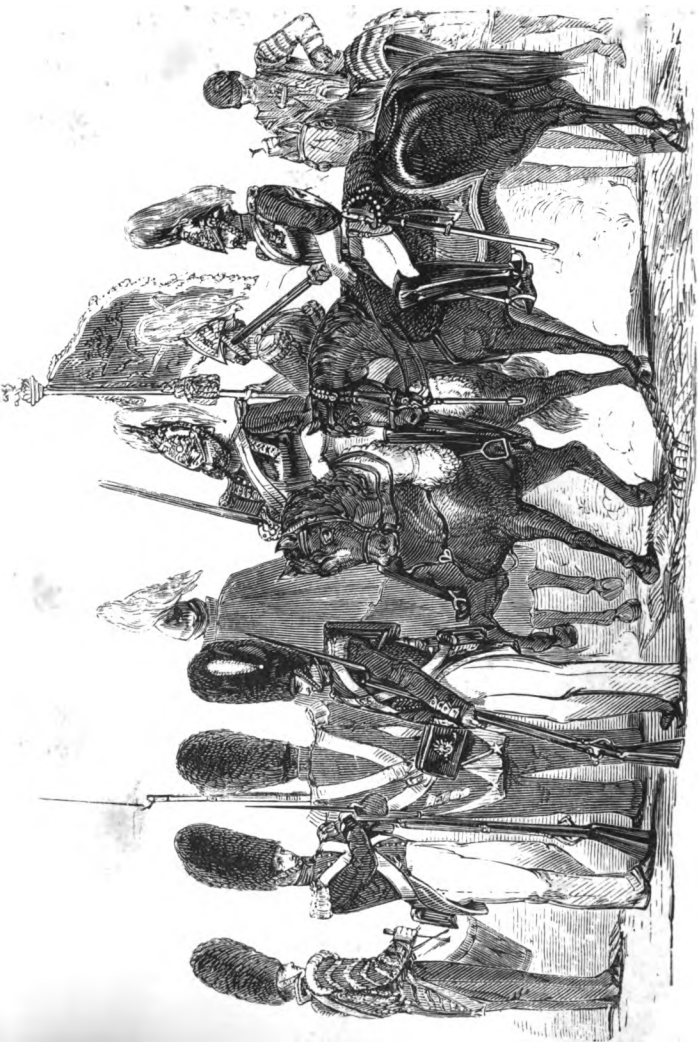


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THE GUARDS;
OR, THE
HOUSEHOLD TROOPS OF ENGLAND.



THE GUARDS;

OR,

THE HOUSEHOLD TROOPS OF ENGLAND.

By CAPTAIN RAFTER.

ILLUSTRATED WITH SIXTEEN ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD.



LONDON:
CLARKE, BEETON, AND CO., FLEET STREET.

THE
HOUSEHOLD TROOPS
OF ENGLAND,
AND
THE IMPERIAL GUARD
OF FRANCE.

Illustrated with Thirty-two Engravings.

LONDON :
CLARKE, BEETON, AND CO., FLEET STREET.

1854.

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TO
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
SIR ALEXANDER WOODFORD, G.C.B. & G.C.M.G.,
WHO COMMANDED
THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS AT WATERLOO,
AND ESPECIALLY IN THE
GLORIOUS DEFENCE OF HOUGOMONT,
THIS WORK IS
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

Prospectus.

THOUGH the Household Troops of England were originally raised for the personal protection of the Sovereign, and people in general regard them as embodied for the purpose of enhancing, by superior military display, the splendour of regal pageantry in England alone, there are none that have really seen more foreign service, either in brigade, battalion, or detachment, from their first establishment in 1660, to the crowning glory of Waterloo.

The exploits of the Guards, during this long period of one hundred and fifty years, which have won immortal fame for them, under a Marlborough and a Wellington, in Germany, in the Netherlands, and in the Peninsula, are scattered through many voluminous and high-priced works, unattainable to the great mass of the reading public, from their expensive nature, and the very great labour and trouble of research.

To obviate these difficulties, and to supply a desideratum in military history, the following pages have been

compiled ; which it is hoped will meet the wishes of the public in general, by presenting a popular and continuous narrative of many events and incidents with which they must be slightly, if at all, acquainted ; and the approbation of military men in particular, as combining, in one uniform whole, the various and important services of a body of troops, who are justly regarded as the pride and honour of the British army.

To this latter class the compiler can hope to offer little that is new ; but, at least, he can anticipate the pleasure of calling up many a proud and pleasing reminiscence of by-gone times and foreign adventure ; while he condenses in a portable form a portion of military history which should be the invariable *vade mecum* of the soldier in the bivouac and the barrack-room.

Preface.

THE compiler of a work like the present has little other merit than that of a judicious selection and abridgement from abundant materials. To this I am content to limit my ambition ; but, in justice to others, I beg to acknowledge my great obligations to that admirable work, "The Historical Records of the British Army," now publishing by authority, under the able direction of Mr. Cannon, of the Adjutant-General's Office, and to Colonel Mackinnon's "History of the Coldstream Guards." It will also serve as a guarantee to the public for the authenticity of my little volume, if I here subjoin the names of other authorities whom I have largely consulted, viz.—Napier, Southey, the Marquis of Londonderry, Dr. Moore, Hume and Smollett, Alison, Grose ("Military Antiquities"), Gleig ("Military History"), Jones ("War in Spain"), Gordon ("History of Ireland"), Wilson ("Expedition to Egypt"), Maxwell ("Life of Wellington"), Cadell ("Campaigns

of the 28th Regiment"), Leith Hay ("Peninsular War"), the Wellington Despatches ; and, though last, not least in general esteem, Monsieur de Lamartine ("Restoration of the Bourbons"), whose splendid abilities are admirably seconded by a spirit of liberality beyond all praise.

Contents.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE.
Introductory Observations—Parallel between the French and English Guards—Origin of the Life Guards—The Oxford Blues originally one of Cromwell's Regiments—General Monck's Regiment, the Cold- stream—How it received that Appellation—These two Regiments taken into the King's Service—Origin of the First, or Grenadier Guards—Licence to go a-begging!—Scots Fusilier Guards—Duties, Dress, and Appointments of the Life Guards—Insurrection of the Millennarians—Their Fanaticism and desperate Defence—They are defeated by the Life Guards and Coldstream	9

CHAPTER II.

New Formation of the Life Guards—Their Establishment, Rank, Pay, &c.—A Scottish Troop raised—The Coronation—Strength of the Household Troops—Acquisition of New York—War with Holland— Defeat of the Dutch—Services of the Guards during the Plague and the Great Fire—Test for the Life Guards—Great Naval Action and Victory over the Dutch—Operations against the Scotch Covenanters —Fresh War with Holland—Siege of Maestricht—Heroic Action of the Duke of Monmouth and his Life Guards	20
--	----

CHAPTER III.

The scattered Quarters and various Duties of the Guards—First Introduc- tion of Grenadiers—War with France—Battle of St. Denis—Un-	
---	--

	PAGE.
popular Peace with Louis XIV.—Revelations of Titus Oates—Close Attendance of the Guards on the King in consequence—Tangiers besieged by the Moors—Relieved by the Guards—The Troops of Morocco defeated by the British—Insurrection of the Covenanters in Scotland—Murder of Archbishop Sharp—Conventicle at Loudon Hill—Affair of Drumclog—The Duke of Monmouth commands the Army against the Insurgents—Battle of Bothwell Bridge	33

CHAPTER IV.

Numerical Strength of the Guards—Improved Organisation of the Army—Dress, Arms, and Accoutrements of the Life and Foot Guards—Political Discontents in England—Plots and Conspiracies—The Rye-house Plot—Fidelity of the Guards—Execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney—Flight of the Duke of Monmouth—Death of Charles II.—James II. attempts to restore Popery—Monmouth's Rebellion—Proclaimed King by the Insurgents—The Guards are sent against them—Action at Caniston Bridge—Affair at Philip's Norton - Battle of Sedgemoor—Defeat, Sufferings, and Execution of Monmouth	45
--	----

CHAPTER V.

Gratuities to the wounded Guards at Sedgemoor—Reviews and Sham Fight—Augmentation of the Army—The King courts Popularity with the Troops—His Attempts to restore Popery—Protestant Officers superseded by Catholics—Opposition of the Scotch and English Troops—The Prince of Orange invited to England—His Arrival—Vacillating Conduct of King James—He is deserted by all his Courtiers—Fidelity of the Guards—James escapes to France—Coronation of William and Mary—James acknowledged King in Ireland—William declares War against France—The Guards sent to Holland—They distinguish themselves at the Battle of Walcourt—William goes to Ireland with Life Guards—Battle of the Boyne—Siege of Limerick—Battle of Aughrim	56
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE.

Hostilities on the Continent—Privileges conferred on the Guards—Namur Surrenders to the French—Great Naval Victory of La Hogue— Battle of Steenkirk—Gallantry of the Guards and Royals—Death of Sir Robert Douglas—Retreat covered by the Guards—Battle of Landen—Critical Charge of the Life Guards—Narrow Escape of King William—Siege of Namur by the English—Gallant Assault of the Guards—Character of Lord Cutts—The Town surrenders—Bom- bardment of the Castle—Assault of the Castle—Success of the Guards—The Castle surrenders—Arrest of Marshal Boufflers . . .	70
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

Improvements in the Discipline and Appointments of the Army—Anec- dote of the Bayonet—Dress and Martial Appearance of the Guards —Death of King William—Queen Anne declares War against France —The Foot Guards scattered on Foreign Service in Spain, Portugal, and Flanders—War of the Succession in Spain, under Lord Peter- borough—Gallant Attack on Vigo, under the Duke of Ormond— Destruction of the French Fleet, and Capture of the Galleons— Gibraltar taken by the English—Defended by the Guards—Barcelona taken by Peterborough—Siege and gallant Defence of Montjuich by the Guards—Singular Escape from a Shell—Atrocious Instance of Spanish Treachery—Battle of Almanza—Glorious Career of Marl- borough—Treaty of Utrecht	83
---	----

CHAPTER VIII.

Efforts of France to restore the Stuarts—Attempted Invasion of England —The Guards march against the Enemy—Riots in London—Trial of Dr. Sacheverel—Disturbances quelled by the Life Guards—Death of Queen Anne, and Accession of George I.—Abortive attempt in favour of the Pretender—Outbreak of the Spitalfields Weavers quelled by the Life Guards—Prices of Commissions in the Guards fixed by regulation—Death of George I., and Accession of George
--

II.—War of the Austrian Succession—Combination against the Empress Maria Theresa—Her cause espoused by George II.—The Life and Foot Guards, and Oxford Blues, embark for Flanders—The British Army cross the Rhine—Battle of Dettingen	85
--	----

CHAPTER IX.

Inactivity of George II.—Dissensions amongst the Confederates—Duke of Cumberland appointed to command the Army—He resolves to relieve Tournay—Battle of Fontenoy—Misconduct of the Dutch—Singular Scene between the French and English Guards—Deroute of the former—Fierce Combat between the Irish Brigade and the English Guards—Defeat of the Allies—The Retreat admirably covered by the Life Guards—The Guards recalled to England by the Attempt of the Pretender—Reduction in the Life Guards—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—New War—Flying Expeditions—Destruction of Cherbourg—Heavy Loss of the Guards—Undecisive Campaigns—Battles of Minden and Warbourg	109
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

Military Improvements of George III.—Popular Disturbances—Conduct of the Life Guards—Destruction of Rioters—American War—Its peculiar Character and Incidents—Religious Riots in London—Powerful Military Interference—Outrages on the Catholics—Burning of the Public Prisons—Great Loss of Life and Destruction of Property—The Troops of Life Guards formed into Regiments—Duel between the Duke of York and Colonel Lennox—The French Revolutions—Preparations for War—A British Army sent to the Netherlands—Followed by a Brigade of Foot Guards—Gallantry of the Guards at St. Amand—Siege and Storming of Valenciennes—Assault and Conquest of Lincelles by the Guards	122
--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

Reinforcements for the Guards sent from England—Successful Operations—The Guards distinguish themselves—Siege and Surrender of Lan-	
---	--

drecies—Overwhelming Numbers and successful Career of the French under Pichegru—Dreadful Retreat of the English Army through Germany—Expedition to the Helder—Its unfavourable Termination—Expedition to Egypt joined by a Brigade of Guards—Battle of the Landing in Aboukir Bay—Attack of the French Lines—Battle of Alexandria—Surrender of the French Troops, and Return of the British to England—Expedition to Portugal—Battle of Vimiero—Convention of Cintra—The 1st Foot Guards under Sir John Moore—Retreat to Corunna—Dreadful Sufferings of the Troops—Battle of Corunna	140
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

A Brigade of Guards embark for the Peninsula—Refused at Cadiz and proceed to Portugal—State of Affairs in that Country—Sir Arthur Wellesley assumes the Command—Opening of the Campaign of 1809—Passage of the Douro—The Guards drive back the Right of the French in Oporto—Retreat of Soult's Army—His Rear-guard defeated by the Guards—Combined Movement between the British and Spaniards under Cuesta—Proposed Operations on Madrid—Cuesta declines fighting on Sunday—He is defeated by Victor and saved by the Guards—Battle of Talavera, First Day—The Battle renewed—Singular Cessation of Arms—Charge of the Guards—Their Critical Position—Final Defeat of the French	156
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

Casualties at Talavera—The British retire on Badajos—The Walcheren Expedition—Ruinous state of Affairs in Spain—Exultation of Bonaparte—Wellington limits himself to the Defence of Portugal—The Conduct of the Guards duly appreciated—Soult invades Andalusia—Arrival of a Brigade of Guards at Cadiz—Invasion of the "Army of Portugal," under Massena—Wellington takes up a Position—Battle of Busaco—Massena tries to turn the Left of the British—Wellington	
--	--

	PAGE.
retires on Torres Vedras—Description of that famous Position—Mor- tification of Massena—He is compelled to retreat—Winter Canton- ments—French Retreat resumed—Massena driven out of Portugal	169

CHAPTER XIV.

Diversion in favour of Cadiz—General Graham commands under La Pena —False Movements of the Spanish General—Critical Situation of the British—Battle of Barrosa—Splendid Charge up the Heights—Total Defeat of the French—Dastardly Conduct of the Spaniards—Cam- paign of 1811 opens in the North—Massena advances on Portugal— Battle of Fuentes d'Onor—Desperate Struggle and Defeat of the French—Campaign of 1812—Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo by the British —Siege and Storming of Badajos	182
--	-----

CHAPTER XV.

Lord Wellington crosses the Frontier—Arrival at Salamanca—The Forts invested—Skirmishing between the Armies—Surrender of the Forts— Preparatory Movements of both Armies—Battle of Salamanca—Fatal Manœuvre of Marmont—Gallant Defence of Arapiles by the Guards— Defeat of the French—They retreat to Burgos—Triumphal Entry of the British into Madrid—Occupation of Burgos and Siege of the Castle—Gallant Assault of the Guards—Siege discontinued—Retreat of the British Army—Perilous Passage of a Bridge—Dreadful Weather, and Privations of the Army—Arrival in Portugal—Winter Canton- ments	192
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1813—The Household Cavalry in the Peninsula—Strength of the Allies, and of the French in Spain—The Allies enter Spain—The French retire towards the Frontier—Take up a Position at Vittoria—Battle of Vittoria—Charge of the Life Guards —Total Defeat of the French Army—Dreadful Confusion of their Retreat—Siege of St. Sebastian—First Attempt to storm—Soult repulsed from the Pyrenees—St. Sebastian breached—The Guards at the Assault—The Town carried by Storm—Surrender of the Castle	203
---	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

PAGE.

The Position of Vera stormed and taken—Intense Cold in the Winter Bivouacs—The Allied Army ordered to advance into France—The Enemy's Lines attacked—And carried on every Point—Soult retreats on Bayonne—The Allies cantoned in France—The French are forced into Bayonne—Soult's Attempt to break the Left Wing of the Allies—Defeated by the Guards—Winter Cantonments—Campaign of 1814—A Bridge thrown over the Adour—Gallant Action of the Guards—Battles of Orthez and Toulouse—Siege of Bayonne—Desperate Sortie of the Garrison—Bravely repelled by the Guards	213
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1815—Relative Strength and Position of the Contending Armies—Defeat of the Prussians by Napoleon at Ligny—Ney advances to Quatre Bras—Timely Movement of the Prince of Orange—Hasty Arrival of the British Troops—Battle of Quatre Bras—Desperate Fighting in the Bois de Bossu—The French obtain Possession of it—They are gallantly expelled by the Guards—Charge of Kellermann's Cuirassiers driven back by the Guards—The British Army falls back upon Waterloo—Attack of French Lancers repelled by the Life Guards—Position of both Armies at Waterloo—Hougoumont the Key of the English Position—Occupied by the Guards—The French advance to Battle—Furious Attack on Hougoumont—Gallantly repelled by the Guards—Renewed Attacks by the French—Hougoumont reinforced by the Coldstream and Scots Fusilier Guards—Set on Fire by the Enemy's Shells—But still bravely defended, and the French baffled in all their Attempts—Progress of the Battle elsewhere—The British Squares—Meeting of the Life Guards and Cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard—Tremendous Charge of the British Life Guards—Overthrow of the Cuirassiers—D'Erlon's <i>Corps d'Armée</i> driven back by Picton—Brilliant Charge of the 2nd Cavalry Brigade—Last Attack of the Old Imperial Guard—"UP, GUARDS, AND AT 'EM!"—Advance of the British Line—Total Rout and Destruction of the French Army.	224
---	-----

List of Illustrations.

	PAGE.
MODERN COSTUME OF THE GUARDS. (<i>Frontispiece.</i>)	
THE GUARDS AT WATERLOO. (<i>Vignette.</i>)	
FINAL STAND OF THE MILLENNARIANS	19
AFFAIR AT THE TOWER	23
SIEGE OF MAESTRICHT	32
DEFEAT OF THE MOORS AT TANGIERS	39
THE BATTLE OF BOTHWELL BRIDGE	43
BATTLE OF SEDGEMORE	54
BATTLE OF THE BOYNE	64
INCIDENT AT THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY	112
THE CATHOLIC RIOTS, 1780	130
LANDING AT ABOUKIR, 1801	146
BATTLE OF TALAVERA	164
THE HEIGHTS OF BUSACO	175
BATTLE OF VITTORIA	206
THE SORTIE OF BAYONNE	222

THE GUARDS ;

OR, THE

HOUSEHOLD TROOPS OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Observations—Parallel between the French and English Guards—Origin of the Life Guards—The Oxford Blues originally one of Cromwell's Regiments—General Monck's Regiment, the Coldstream—How it received that Appellation—These two Regiments taken into the King's Service—Origin of the First, or Grenadier Guards—License to go a-begging!—Scots Fusilier Guards—Duties, Dress, and Appointments of the Life Guards—Insurrection of the Millennarians—Their Fanaticism and desperate Defence—They are defeated by the Life Guards and Coldstream.

It is, we believe, an incontestable fact that the French troops are the best in the world, with the single exception of the troops that have beaten them—a feat which has never been accomplished by any but the soldiers of England.

In saying this, we beg to disclaim the remotest shadow of ill-feeling towards our gallant opponents on the other side of the Channel, or the slightest wish to tarnish the fame of those immortal bands that bore the flag of Imperial France in triumph through every country in Europe save England. Apart from the plans, the plots, and the intrigues of statesmen and politicians, uninfluenced by the bitterness of senatorial declamation or newspaper controversy, the hostility that has existed between the armies of England and France has been mainly distinguished by a generous rivalry, and a chivalrous emulation in the field of fame : in a similar spirit we have undertaken a task that would better suit the glowing pen of a Napier—that of presenting in a popular form a history of the English

Guards, and a narrative of the glorious exploits in which they have borne so distinguished a part, especially in the destructive war that sprang from the French Revolution and the boundless ambition of Napoleon.

It may, however, be as well to warn the reader that, in thus placing the household troops of England in juxtaposition, as it were, with the Imperial Guard of France, it must be borne in memory that their respective spheres of action, their numerical strength, and their relative duties have been greatly dissimilar. The Imperial Guard comprised many thousand men of all arms, its duties were not merely of a household character, and its eagles bore terror and dismay into every part of continental Europe; whereas the English Guards have never exceeded six regiments of cavalry and infantry, their duties have been principally those connected with state pageantry and regal attendance, and their principal battle-fields have been limited to the Netherlands and the Peninsula. Yet it is not too much to say that, on every occasion when they have come into contact with the enemy, they have invariably evinced a decided superiority in discipline, in physical power, and indomitable bravery; while their conduct in camp and garrison has been always exemplary, and highly becoming in the chosen troops of a great nation.

The military institutions of France and England are on so different a scale, and the jealousy of a large standing army is so powerful in the English breast, that our Guards cannot be expected to hold so prominent a position in military annals as those of Imperial France. They have never been combined in formidable masses of twenty or thirty thousand, horse, foot, and artillery, to sweep opposing armies from the field, and decide at one blow the fate of nations. Their foreign services have been confined to movements in brigade, in single battalions, and even in detached troops and companies; and though on every occasion they have evinced the most admirable discipline and unconquerable spirit, yet their influence on the fate

of battles has not been so prominent as that of the Old Guard of France. Their mission has been rather that of defending their native soil than of pushing foreign conquest; and though their banner may not be emblazoned with such glories as Wagram, Austerlitz, Friedland, &c. &c., they may justly boast that, with the bravery of the Prætorian bands, they are free from their venality and corruption: with the indomitable courage of the Imperial Guard, their idol is not a man, but a country—their inspiration is not so much military glory as the still more sacred flame of patriotism.

At a period like the present, when the armies of continental Europe are on a war establishment, and revolutionary memories are fresh in every bosom, it would be presumptuous to speculate on a long continuance of uninterrupted peace; and a recent Act of Parliament has wisely shown the propriety of placing our own military force on a suitable footing to defend our happy shores from foreign pollution. But though we do not participate in the apprehension of invasion, now so prevalent, still less do we pin our faith on the crotchets of Mr. Cobden and his fellow-labourers in the visionary scheme of universal peace. The Millennium is by no means so near that the lamb may as yet lie down with the lion; and until human nature is differently constituted, we have no doubt there will be wars and rumours of wars. Though our insular battle-field may, in the language of the poet, be “on the ocean-wave,” and our home be “on the deep,” still the voice of warning and the caution of experience are inviting our bold countrymen to the defence of their hearths and altars; and we therefore look upon this as a fitting time to revive, if necessary, that prestige of military fame which has carried the “meteor-flag” of England triumphant through many a scene of carnage, and proudly planted it on the crest of Mont St. Jean, the champion and the guarantee of the world’s freedom.

With this object in view, we undertake with pleasure the task assigned to us of tracing the history of the

English Guards through many an eventful period, from their earliest formation to the present day, when, reposing on their well-earned laurels, they may look with pride upon the past, and a well-grounded confidence to the future.

Though the sovereigns of England, from the first establishment of the monarchy, have doubtless had their own personal guards, there does not appear to have been any regularly-embodied corps of that description till the reign of Richard I., who instituted a body of twenty-four archers, called the "Sergeants at Arms," to keep watch in complete armour round the king's tent. Henry VII. established a band of fifty chosen archers for a similar purpose, called the "Yeomen of the Guard;" and Henry VIII. a like number of gentlemen, called "Spears," with each an archer, a demi-lance, and a custrell to attend him. This corps was subsequently disbanded, but restored in 1539 with the title of "Gentlemen Pensioners."

When the Civil War broke out, and Charles I. erected his standard in 1642, a number of gentlemen of quality were formed into a troop of Guards; and their servants, constituting another troop, always accompanied their masters. A third troop was also formed for the Queen, styled "Her Majesty's Own Troop." These were subsequently formed into a regiment, being the first English troops that were designated "Life Guards;" and they signalled themselves in several engagements with the forces of the Parliament, but were nearly annihilated in a sharp cavalry action under the walls of Chester.

When the restoration of Charles II. was about to be accomplished by General Monck, the want of an efficient corps of Guards having been seriously experienced in the preceding reign, the King resolved to remedy this evil; and before his Majesty quitted Holland, a report of a conspiracy of several desperate republicans to assassinate him expedited the completion of the arrangement. Having

with him upwards of three thousand men, the wreck of those fine armies which fought so gallantly in the royal cause during the Civil War in England, and afterwards distinguished themselves in France and the Netherlands, his Majesty selected from among them eighty Cavalier gentlemen who had adhered to the royal cause with unshaken fidelity, and on the 17th May, 1660, constituted them a corps of LIFE GUARDS for the protection of the royal person. From this noble source originated those two splendid regiments, the First and Second Life Guards.

After the Restoration, the republican army was disbanded by Act of Parliament, with the exception of the Lord General's (Monck) regiment of foot, and the Life Guards of horse, both of which had been for some time in the service of the Commonwealth: the latter had been raised by Cromwell for his own personal guard, and after his decease it was continued as a guard to Parliament and the Lord General. The King resolved, by the advice of the Chancellor, to add these two regiments to his household troops: they were accordingly disbanded *pro forma*, on Tower Hill, on the 14th February, 1661, and immediately reimbodied; the latter, under the command of the Earl of Oxford, being augmented to eight troops from its former establishment of 172 men, became the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, now popularly termed the Oxford Blues.*

Of the Foot Guards, the Coldstream, the other regiment referred to above, was originally Monck's regiment in the Civil Wars, and served in Scotland under Cromwell. On the 1st of January, 1660, Monck having quitted his head-quarters at Coldstream to restore the monarchy, the regiment derives its distinctive appellation from the place whence those brave men set out on their splendid

* Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in his Travels through England, 1669, alluding to this corps, states that it consisted of eight troops of seventy men; and that in each troop the colonel had the privilege of keeping two places vacant, and of appropriating the emoluments to himself, which amounted to more than fourteen pounds sterling per week. This privilege was shortly afterwards abolished.

undertaking, and where, indeed, the plan had been brought to maturity.

Soon after the arrival of the Coldstreamers in London, General Monck received orders from Parliament to reduce the citizens to obedience, some of the principal amongst them having shown a disposition to coalesce with the usurping Committee of Safety. Accordingly, he led his troops into the city, destroyed the gates, portcullises, and other means of defence,* which, as there was no danger of foreign invasion, could only have been made subservient to factious purposes. The first act of the Coldstream, therefore, on its arrival in the metropolis, was to repress anarchy, to enforce due obedience to the laws, and secure respect for the civil government. After laying down their arms on Tower Hill, in token that, like the rest of the republican forces, they were ready to be disposed of as the sovereign might require, the soldiers of the Coldstream immediately resumed them again, at the command of the Royal Commissioners; and with loud shouts, and waving of hats and ensigns, swore to defend to the death the King, his person and rights, against all his enemies.†

But though the Coldstream is unquestionably the oldest regiment of the Foot Guards, yet, from the peculiar circumstance of its republican origin, it naturally yielded precedence to the Royalist regiment, which is now the First, or Grenadier Guards, and was first embodied under the following circumstances:—When peace was concluded between France and the Commonwealth, in November, 1655, Charles and his brother the Duke of York quitted the French Court, repaired to Brussels, and joined the Spaniards against Cromwell and the King of France. The loyalists assembled round the Duke of York enabled

* Clarendon, Rapin, Hume.

† “These Coldstreamers,” says Gumble, in his *Life of General Monck*, “were like the nobles of Israel, with whom Deborah was so much in love, and of whom she sings in the Book of Judges, because they offered themselves willingly among the people, and jeopardied their lives unto death, in the high places of the field. Danger was these men’s election; and though there was such a presence of God accompanied them that no blood was shed, yet they were ready to have spent to the last drop for the public safety.”

him to raise six regiments, early in the year 1657, in the pay and for the service of Spain, one of which was denominated "The Royal Regiment of Guards." It consisted of about four hundred men, chiefly English. This corps took the field with the Spaniards in the Netherlands, and was at the siege of Ardes and Mardyke, and in the battle before Dunkirk, on the 14th of June, 1658, in which the Royal Regiment particularly distinguished itself; but it shared the fate of the Spanish forces, who were defeated and dispersed. The few who remained of the "Royal Guards" after the action, having surrendered as prisoners, were stationed, together with the officers on parole, at Ypres, Ghent, Nivelles, or Namur; and being without pay or subsistence, the soldiers were given passes to go up and down the country a-begging!*

A short time after the Restoration, the regiment was quartered in Dunkirk, "the officers being on half-pay;" and in August, 1660, Lord Wentworth was despatched thither by the King to reorganise and take the command of these gallant veterans. It was not, however, till October, 1662, that the Royal Regiment of Guards made its appearance in England, where it became the First Regiment of Foot Guards. It was subsequently amalgamated with the "King's Regiment," organised in the interim under Colonel John Russell,† making together twenty-four companies, amounting to two thousand four hundred men, besides officers. It is now the regiment of Grenadier Guards; a title which, however, it did not receive till after the battle of Waterloo.

The earliest notice of the Third, or Scots Fusilier Guards, being on the British establishment, occurs in March, 1686. It subsequently served abroad, but at that time only received the pay of the line. After the peace of Ryswick, both its battalions returned from Flanders, landed at Hull in 1697, and marched to Edinburgh. It remained on the Scotch establishment till December, 1707, the period of

* Memoirs of Captain Gwynne. Life of James II.

† Brother to the Earl of Bedford.

the Union, from which time it was put on the same footing as the First and Coldstream Guards.

The six regiments whose origin and formation we have thus briefly stated constitute the **HOUSEHOLD TROOPS OF ENGLAND**. The fine appearance of this chosen body, it has been justly remarked,* the steadiness and discipline of the men, and the high condition of the horses, have ever been the objects of general admiration. Their forward and gallant bearing when opposed to a foreign enemy has at all times presented a striking and exemplary contrast to the temper, the patience, and the forbearance which have distinguished their conduct when employed on difficult and painful duties at home.†

When the arrangements for the return of Charles II. were completed, the Life Guard which had been formed by the King in Holland embarked on board the fleet which had arrived to convey his Majesty to his dominions, and, together with the Coldstream Regiment, attended, in splendid costume, his triumphal entry into London, which event took place on his thirtieth birth-day, the 29th May, 1660. On this great occasion the streets were lined with the City companies of Militia, the houses were adorned with the richest silks and tapestries, and the windows and balconies crowded with spectators, whose enthusiastic acclamations testified the joy they felt at the restoration of their sovereign, and their liberation from the tyranny under which they had so long suffered. During that period, if England was powerful abroad, she was unhappy at home, for a gloomy fanaticism had overspread the land ; literature and the fine arts were abandoned, and the most innocent amusements were forbidden ; while, under the

* Historical Record of the Life Guards.

† Though the Household Troops must be regarded as the nucleus of the standing army of England, there are two regiments of the line of much older date than 1660—viz., the First, or Royals, and the Third, or Buffs. The former had been in the service of France, and the latter in that of Holland, from the time of Queen Elizabeth ; but they did not obtain rank in the English army until they arrived in England—the Royals in 1661, and the Buffs in 1665. It is supposed that the Royals existed as a distinct corps as early as the year 1613, when Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North, gathered two regiments of Scotch auxiliaries together, to assist him in his war with Denmark.

name of a republic, the nation groaned beneath a government equally rigorous with that of the most absolute monarchs.

The particular services to be performed by the Life Guards were not defined by regulation. They mounted guard at the palace, and attended the King when he rode out; and on these occasions, at so gorgeous a court, it was natural to expect that their costume should be particularly splendid. The private gentlemen wore round hats, with broad brims, and a profusion of white feathers drooping over the brim; scarlet coats, richly ornamented with gold lace, the sleeves wide, with a slash in front, and the lace lengthways from the shoulder to the wrist; white collars, which were very broad, and, being turned over the vest, covered the neck and spread over part of the shoulders; scarlet sashes round the waist, and tied behind; large ruffles at the wrist, and long hair flowing over their shoulders. Their boots were of jacked leather, and came up to about the middle of the thigh. Their defensive armour were cuirasses and iron head-pieces, called potts; and their weapons were short carbines, pistols, and swords, with a carbine-belt suspended across the left shoulder. They rode long-tailed horses of superior weight and power. On public occasions the tail was usually tied up, and, together with the head and mane, decorated with a profusion of ribands. Their horse-furniture comprised bolster-caps, richly ornamented, and a plain saddle-cloth. When attending his Majesty, they carried their carbines in their right hands, with the butt resting upon the thigh. The uniform of the officers was similar to that of the privates, but much more splendid, particularly the horse-furniture.

During the latter part of the King's residence in Holland, a further selection of Cavalier gentlemen having been made, the original number of the Life Guard was increased to about six hundred; but when he was peaceably established on the throne, several officers and private gentlemen retired from the service, and proceeded to their country-seats; others were appointed to commissions in

the regular army, and the corps was reduced to one troop, which was composed of Cavaliers who had held commissions in the royal army during the Rebellion, many of the private gentlemen having been lieutenant-colonels, majors, and captains. The Duke of York's troop was, at the same time, re-established in the Netherlands, and placed in garrison at Dunkirk. Both troops were equipped as cuirassiers.

Shortly after the King's arrival in England, the necessity of having an efficient guard became manifest ; for, on the evening of the 6th of January, 1661, a party of Life Guards was suddenly called out to proceed into the City, where a number of desperate fanatics, calling themselves "Millennarians, or Fifth-monarchy Men," had broken into open rebellion.

The confusions which overspread England after the murder of Charles I. proceeded as well from the spirit of refinement and innovation which agitated the ruling party, as from the dissolution of all that authority, both civil and ecclesiastical, by which the nation had ever been accustomed to be governed. Every man had framed the model of a republic ; and however new it was, or fantastical, he was eager in recommending it to his fellow-citizens, or even imposing it upon them by force. Every man had also adjusted a system of religion which, being derived from no traditional authority, was peculiar to himself ; and being founded on supposed inspiration, not on any principles of human reasoning, had no means besides cant and low rhetoric by which it could recommend itself to others. The Levellers insisted on an equal distribution of property and power, and disclaimed all dependence and subordination. Other sects had their peculiar crotchets for governing the State ; but the Millennarians or Fifth-monarchy men, required that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming on earth they suddenly expected.

On the above evening of the 6th of January, one Thomas



FINAL STAND OF THE MILLENNARIANS.

Venner, the leader and preacher of this sect, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwell, having, by his zealous lectures, inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, sallied forth at their head into the streets of London, from their meeting-house in Swan-alley, Coleman-street. They were to the number of sixty, completely armed, believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and firmly expected the same success which had attended Gideon and other heroes of the Old Testament. Everyone at first fled before them. One unhappy man, who, being questioned, said "he was for God and King Charles," was instantly murdered by them. They went triumphantly from street to street, everywhere proclaiming King Jesus, who, they said, was their invisible leader. At length the magistrates having assembled some train-bands, made an attack upon them.* They defended themselves with order as well as valour; and after killing many of the assailants, being informed that the Life Guards were approaching, they fled to St. John's Wood, and subsequently to Caen Wood, between Hampstead and Highgate.

On the following day, a detachment of Life Guards, with two hundred of the Coldstream, under Sir Thomas Sandys, were sent in pursuit of the fanatics, and meeting with them about twelve o'clock that night in a thick part of the wood, a conflict ensued, and several were killed on both sides; but after a few shots the rebels fled, and succeeded in eluding the military until the morning of the 9th, when they re-entered the City. A detachment of twenty men from the guard at Whitehall, under Colonel Corbet, being sent against them, the Life Guards met the fanatics in Wood-street, Cheapside, in a narrow place where cavalry could not without much difficulty attack them. Corbet, however, charged with nine of his guard; and here, to give the rebels their due, they fought as if they had a greater number and a better cause: five or six of the rebels were killed, and a good many wounded,

* Hume.

amongst whom was their spiritual captain, Venner. Being at length dispersed by the Life Guards, these self-deluded fanatics fled, and eventually took shelter in a house which they seemed resolved to defend to the last extremity. This house being surrounded and untiled, they were fired upon from every side ; but they refused quarter, till at last the people rushed in upon them and seized the few who were alive. These were tried and condemned ; their captain and about twenty more were hanged, drawn, and quartered, about twenty of them having been killed in the several skirmishes, with about an equal number of the King's troops.

At a period when religious enthusiasm was carried to so extravagant a pitch, this appears to have been one of the maddest outbreaks of fanatical frenzy. Venner and his followers, who expected the immediate coming of Christ upon earth, not only believed themselves invulnerable, but affirmed to the last that if they were deceived, the Lord himself had concurred in the imposture.

CHAPTER II.

New Formation of the Life Guards—Their Establishment, Rank, Pay, &c.—A Scottish Troop raised—The Coronation—Strength of the Household Troops—Acquisition of New York—War with Holland—Defeat of the Dutch—Services of the Guards during the Plague and the Great Fire—Test for the Life Guards—Great Naval Action and Victory over the Dutch—Operations against the Scotch Covenanters—Fresh War with Holland—Siege of Maestricht—Heroic Action of the Duke of Monmouth and his Life Guards.

IMMEDIATELY after the suppression of this rebellion, the King ordered the Duke of York's Troop home from Dunkirk, directed the new corps of Life Guards to be augmented to five hundred men, and divided it into three troops ; the first to be called "His Majesty's Own ;" the second, "The Duke of York's ;" and the third, "The Duke of Albemarle's"*. The establishment of each troop was fixed by warrant under the sign manual, as follows.

* The title recently conferred by the King on General Monk.

HIS MAJESTY'S TROOP.

One captain, four lieutenants, one cornet, quartermaster, chaplain, surgeon, four corporals, four trumpeters, one kettle-drummer, and two hundred privates.

THE DUKE OF YORK'S TROOP.

One captain, one lieutenant, one cornet, quartermaster, chaplain, surgeon, four corporals, four trumpeters, one kettle-drummer, and one hundred and fifty privates.

The Duke of Albemarle's Troop had an equal establishment with that of the Duke of York.

Their rate of pay was as follows :—

	Per diem.		
Captain of the King's Troop	1	10	0
Captain of the two others	1	0	0
Lieutenant	0	15	0
Cornet	0	13	0
Quartermaster	0	9	0
Chaplain	0	6	8
Surgeon and one horse	0	8	0
Corporal	0	6	0
Trumpeter	0	5	0
Kettle-drummer	0	5	0
Private	0	4	0

Though the Life Guards were divided into three troops, each having its own captain, they were considered one corps, and were under the command of Lord Gerard, captain of the King's Troop, who was designated "General of the Life Guards." They thus formed a body-guard of five hundred gentlemen of approved loyalty, which became one of the most distinguished corps of heavy cavalry in Europe. The corporals were commissioned officers; their rank in the army in 1679 was that of eldest lieutenant of horse, at which period the practice of calling them brigadiers had become general, though they continued to be styled corporals in their commissions. In warrants and

orders, when their names are mentioned, they are sometimes styled captains. The sub-corporals ranked as cornets, but did not hold commissions until 1688.*

In addition to the three English troops of Life Guards, a troop was also raised in Scotland, entitled "His Majesty's Troop of Guards." By its constitution, it was to consist of noblemen's and gentlemen's sons, one hundred and twenty in number, under the command of Lord Newburgh. Their rate of pay was somewhat lower than that of the English troops.

The ceremonial of the King's coronation commenced on the 22nd of April, 1661, when the three troops of Life Guards, and his Majesty's two regiments of foot, the Coldstream and Colonel Russell's, were on duty during the royal procession from the Tower through the City to Whitehall Palace. Great preparations were made for this day.

The most splendid costumes had been provided for the noblemen, knights, and esquires; with sumptuous furniture for their horses, and rich liveries for the pages and footmen, some suits of which cost as much as fifteen hundred pounds! This was a wonderful reaction from the simplicity of the Puritans. The houses in the line of the procession were decorated with garlands, trophies, and tapestry; four grand triumphal arches were erected; also a magnificent temple, with stages for waits, bands of music, and morrice-dancers; while the fountains were running wine, the joy-bells ringing, speeches making, and loud acclamations resounding on every side. In fact, it was feared, says a historian, that the tide of loyalty would bear down all the former mounds of freedom; the very Parliament seemed to concur in all the designs of the Court, and even to anticipate its wishes.

In June, 1661, adjutants were first commissioned to the

* The term "corporal" was formerly appropriated to a liberal military rank. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the "corporals of the field" held equal rank to a captain of horse, and their duty was similar to that of an aide-de-camp at present. The great Marlborough was familiarly called by his soldiers "Corporal John," as Napoleon subsequently was styled "*le petit Caporal*."



AFFAIR AT THE TOWER.

Guards ; and about the same time a regiment of Guards, consisting of twelve companies, was raised for duty in Dublin. The Household Troops at this period were as follow :—

	Privates.
The King's troop of Life Guards	200
The Duke of York's ditto	150
The Duke of Albemarle's ditto	150
The Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blue)	500
The King's Regiment of Foot Guards under Lord Russell	1200
The Lord-General's Regiment of Foot Guards (Coldstream)	1000
The King's Regiment of Foot Guards under Lord Wentworth	1200
Total	<hr/> 4400

Besides officers and non-commissioned officers.

The duties of his Majesty's Guards were not, at any period, restricted to attendance on the person of the sovereign, though originally formed expressly for that service. On the 30th September, 1661, the second troop of Life Guards, with three companies of Foot Guards, and his Majesty's own coach, proceeded to the Tower of London to receive an ambassador extraordinary from the Crown of Sweden.

When the Swedish ambassador had landed, a dispute arose between the servants of the French and Spanish ambassadors about precedence in the procession, and the disputants proceeded to violence, cutting harness and killing carriage-horses, till eventually a furious combat ensued with swords and pistols, and several men were killed on both sides. The Life Guards at length interfered, and put a stop to the contest.

A review of the Guards took place on the 27th of September, 1662, which is thus described in the *King-*

dome's Intelligencer, a periodical of that date :—" His Majesties regiments of Guards, both horse and foot, were drawn up in Hyde Park. It was a very noble sight at all capacities, and (with reverence be it spoken) worthy those royal spectators who purposely came to behold it, for his sacred Majesty, the Queen, the Queen-Mother, the Duke and Duchess of York, with many of the nobility, were all present. The horse and foot were in such exquisite order that 'tis not easie to imagine anything so exact ; which is the more credible, if you consider that there were but few of that great body who had not formerly been commanders, and so more fit to be guard to the person of the most excellent king in the world."

An Act of Parliament, passed at Edinburgh in 1662, for the government of the Church of Scotland by archbishops and bishops, having met with opposition, it was found necessary to augment the forces in that kingdom : a second troop of Scots Life Guards was accordingly embodied at Edinburgh in 1663, of which the Earl of Rothes was appointed captain and colonel.

A few years previous to the breaking out of the Dutch war in 1665, complaints had been repeatedly urged by the English and Dutch reciprocally, of the frequent interruption they experienced in their foreign trade. These complaints related more especially to the hostile proceedings of the Dutch West India Company, and of the English Chartered African Company, unauthorised by their respective Governments, which became more serious in 1664.

In February of that year, Captain, afterwards Sir Robert Holmes, with a squadron and some land-forces, amongst which were fifty men of the Coldstream, made a descent on the Dutch settlements on the coast of Guinea, where he captured several vessels and took some of their principal forts. From thence he sailed to North America, and in the month of August reduced the Dutch settlement called New Netherlands, which he changed to that of New York, in honour of the Lord High Admiral,

and which city is now the commercial metropolis of the New World.

Great naval preparations having been made on both sides, war was declared by the Dutch in January, 1665, and by the English in the following month. Five hundred men were added to the Coldstream Regiment for sea-service, and distributed on board the fleet ; while a number of officers and private gentlemen of the Life Guards were also permitted to serve as volunteers on the occasion. This was a practice which continued till the time of Queen Anne, when the Marines, a force of high character and most distinguished service, first took their place in the British army. On the present occasion, a new corps, called the "Admirals," was ordered to be raised, intended for naval warfare, and which probably laid the foundation for this admirable branch of our service.

The Duke of York, with one hundred and fourteen sail, having stood for the coast of Holland, the two fleets came to action off Harwich, about three A.M., on the 3rd of June, when Admiral Opdam's ship, which opposed that of the Duke of York, was blown up, and several officers of rank were killed. The action terminated in the total defeat of the Dutch. Eighteen ships were taken, fourteen sunk, and several blown up. The enemy's loss exceeded six thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The English lost but one ship, with two hundred and fifty men killed, and three hundred and forty wounded.

The movements of the Life Guards had, on many occasions, reference to some great national event ; and their departure from London in May, 1665, was connected with a most awful calamity to the metropolis. This was the breaking out of the plague, when their Majesties, taking with them a considerable portion of the Life Guards, and a detachment of Foot Guards, removed from Whitehall Palace to Hampton Court, and thence to Salisbury, leaving the metropolis to the care of the Duke of Albemarle. From Salisbury their Majesties proceeded to

Oxford, where Parliament assembled, and the session was opened on the 10th of October. The fearful ravages of the plague having subsided, the Court returned to Whitehall Palace in February, 1666.

At this period the privates of the Life Guards, when they attended muster, were required, by Act of Parliament, to bring a certificate of their having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and of having taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church of England.* This test was introduced to exclude Roman Catholics and Puritans from the King's Guard: the latter, being republicans, were constantly conspiring against the throne, and the former were charged with plotting the destruction of the Protestant Church. In consequence of this act, many of the Cavaliers who fought in the royal cause during the Rebellion, but who were of the Roman Catholic religion, being prevented from remaining in the Life Guards, proceeded to France, and were constituted a troop of *Gens-d'armes*, in the service of Louis XIV.†

Meanwhile the war with Holland was prosecuted with vigour, and with varying success. The fleet, on board of which were embarked large detachments of the Coldstream and Life Guards, was commanded in 1666 by Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle. They sailed early in May, but were separated in a gale of wind, which obliged Albemarle to fight the Dutch off Dunkirk with an inferior force, on the 1st of June. The battle continued on the 2nd, and was renewed during the two following days. Campbell, in his "Lives of the Admirals," says "it was the most terrible battle fought in this war; and it was by no means easy to say who were victors upon the whole, or what was the loss of the vanquished." That of the English was computed at sixteen men-of-war, of which ten were sunk and six taken; the Dutch lost fifteen ships.‡

* Pepys' Memoirs.

† Père Daniel.

‡ In the *London Gazette* of June 7th, 1666, there is an account, dated Harwich, the 4th of June, which states that "the Duke had all his tackle taken off by chain-shot, and his breeches to his skin were shot off."

On the 25th of July, and two subsequent days, the English and Dutch once more engaged, when Prince Rupert and Albemarle, who were both on board the same ship, gained the most decisive victory that had been achieved during the war. The battle commenced off the North Foreland, and the Dutch were driven back on their own coasts. The enemy lost four admirals, twenty men-of-war, four thousand killed and three thousand wounded; while the loss of the English only amounted to three captains and three hundred men killed.

In August, one hundred and sixty vessels within the Vlie were attacked and burnt under the direction of Sir Robert Holmes. As it was deemed more expedient to land on the island of Schelling than upon Vlie, Sir Robert disembarked with eleven companies of the Coldstream Guards and the Admiral's regiment, and, leaving one company for the security of his boats, marched with the remainder to Bandaris, which town he destroyed by fire, after it had been plundered by the soldiers.

At this period, and before the minds of men had become tranquil after their deliverance from the fearful presence of the plague, which had swept away more than one hundred thousand of the inhabitants of London, another dreadful calamity occurred, which proved equally destructive to property. About one o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of September, 1666, the great Fire of London broke out, which burnt most furiously for three days, and covered four hundred and thirty-six acres with ruins. The Life Guards were under arms the whole of the period, and several detachments were sent out. Escorts were also ordered to attend his Majesty and the Duke of York, who were most indefatigable in their personal exertions to have all possible means applied to keep the conflagration from spreading. The Duke, attended by detachments of Life Guards, rode from place to place to preserve order; a number of the Guards were employed in helping the people, and several of the nobility and gentry also assisted. But the spirit of the people surmounted these calamities,

and London soon rose more beautiful than ever from its ashes.

The troops of Life Guards were at this period considered more as regiments than troops, and the officers had rank in the army superior to their troop commissions. In an order respecting the rank of the different corps, dated the 12th of September, 1666, his Majesty confirmed to the three troops of Guards their precedence to all other horse, and gave their captains the rank of eldest colonel of horse ; the lieutenants, the rank of eldest majors ; and the cornets, that of eldest captains of horse. The same order directs that the King's Regiment of Horse (now the Oxford Blues) "take place immediately after the Guards ; and the colonell of it to have precedency immediately after the captaines of the Guards, and before all other colonells of horse."* With respect to the Foot, it was ordered "That the regiment of Guards (now the Grenadier Guards) take place of all other regiments, and the colonell take place as the first foote colonell ; the General's regiment (the Coldstream) to take place next."

At this period, the Scots Life Guards were often called upon to act against their own countrymen, who frequently assembled in arms contrary to law. The western parts of Scotland were strongly opposed to episcopacy, which the Government was establishing in that country by force ; and the minds of the people were so excited by their ministers, and irritated by oppression, that they eventually broke out into open rebellion. On the 13th of November, 1666, a number of persons met in arms, and having surprised and disarmed a small party of the King's forces at Dumfries, their numbers increased to about three thousand men, when they marched to within two miles of Edinburgh, but afterwards turned towards the west. The city of Edinburgh was put in a posture of defence,

* At present there are only three regiments which are styled *Horse* in the British army, namely, the two regiments of Life Guards, and the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blues), to whom cuirasses have been recently restored. The other cavalry regiments consist of Dragoon Guards, Heavy and Light Dragoons, Hussars, and Lancers.

the gates were shut and fortified with cannon from the Castle ; while the regular forces, under the veteran Lieutenant-General Dalzel, were sent in pursuit of the rebels, whom they overtook on the Pentland Hills, and immediately engaged them. The two troops of Life Guards commenced the attack by a determined charge : the rebels met the first onset with great bravery ; but the other troops coming up, they soon gave way and fled in great disorder, leaving about sixty killed and one hundred and thirty prisoners behind them. The darkness of the night, and even the pity of the troops, suffered the rest to escape.

On the 13th of June, 1667, the second and third troops of Life Guards were augmented one lieutenant and fifty gentlemen each, which increased their privates to the same numbers as the first troop—namely, two hundred : the total strength of the three English troops now amounted to thirty-five officers, twelve trumpeters, three kettle-drummers, and six hundred private gentlemen. The commotions in Scotland having been suppressed, and peace concluded with Holland, all the regular Scots forces were disbanded in 1667, excepting the two troops of Life Guards, and the regiment of Foot Guards, now the Scots Fusiliers.

On the 16th September, 1668, the King placed his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth, in command as captain of his troop of Life Guards, vacated by the resignation of Lord Gerard, subsequently created Earl of Macclesfield. The Duke of Albemarle died on the 3rd of January, 1670, when the title of the third troop of Life Guards was changed to that of "The Queen's Troop," and his regiment of Foot Guards was given to William, Earl of Craven. Hitherto it had retained the appellation of "The Lord General's Regiment," but from this period it was better known under the present designation of the Coldstream Guards.

As might have been expected from the rivalry between two great naval powers, the peace with Holland was not of long duration ; and it was broken in the fol-

lowing manner :—On the 13th of January, 1672, Sir Robert Holmes, when cruising off the Isle of Wight, fell in with fifty of the Dutch Smyrna fleet, under convoy of six men-of-war ; and, on the Dutch refusing to lower their topsails, the customary honour paid by all nations to the British flag, he brought them to action, captured five of their richest merchantmen, and boarded their Rear-Admiral's ship, which was afterwards sunk. In consequence of this, with other causes of complaint, his Majesty declared war against the States-General, which was proclaimed by the heralds-of-arms, attended by a detachment of the King's troop of Life Guards, on the 28th of March, in the following manner :—

The sword of state having been drawn, proclamation of war was made at the Court-gate of Whitehall Palace, from whence the cavalcade proceeded to Temple Bar in the following order :—

The marshal's men, ten trumpeters, the sergeant-trumpeter, three officers-of-arms' assistants, two heralds to proclaim, three serjeants-at-arms, and a detachment of Life Guards, under the command of Major Prestwick.

At Temple Bar, a trumpeter advanced in front of the marshal's men, and sounded at the gate, and entrance into the City was demanded in the King's name. The gates were then opened, and the Lord Mayor and aldermen joined the procession. Proclamation was afterwards made at the end of Chancery-lane, at the end of Wood-street, Cheapside, and at the Royal Exchange. "The ceremony being ended, the Lord Mayor, by his officers, invited all attending the service to dinner, where they were most nobly entertained. His lordship, after being seated with his company in the great hall, commanded Mr. Sword-bearer of the City to entertain his Majesty's Guards that attended the ceremony, who were placed at a long table, by the side of the same hall, where they had most extraordinary entertainment, with several volleys to his Majesties health, and the happy success of his armes."*

* London Gazette.

This rupture between Holland and England appears to have been previously determined on, and arrangements, in consequence, had been made between the British and French Courts. The King of France declared war against the States-General. The English and French fleets were united ; and six thousand British troops, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, were sent to join the French army. A detachment of fifty private gentlemen from each of the three troops of Life Guards, under the command of Lord Duras (afterwards Earl of Feversham), with a number of volunteers, and ten men out of each of the twelve companies of the Coldstream, accompanied the Duke of Monmouth, and arrived at the French camp, near Charleroi, on the 1st of May.

A fleet was also equipped of sixty-five ships of war, under the Duke of York and the Earl of Sandwich, having on board three hundred of the Coldstream, which were followed by another detachment of four officers and two hundred men. The war commenced with a naval action off Solebay, on the 28th May, in which one of the enemy's vessels was captured and three sunk, the English losing the *Royal James* and several officers of note. The Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, in his letter to the States, said it was the hardest-fought battle he had ever seen.

Meanwhile the army of the Allies was commanded by Louis XIV. in person, assisted by Marshal Turenne and the Prince of Condé. The King having despatched twenty thousand men to invest Maestricht, advanced towards the Rhine. The Duke of Monmouth, with the British troops, accompanied the King, and took part in the capture of Orfoy and Rhineberg, which surrendered, the former on the 3rd, and the latter on the 6th of June. They were afterwards at the taking of Emmerick, Doesburg, and Zutphen ; and were encamped before Utrecht when that city delivered up its keys.

In the following campaign, the Duke of Monmouth was appointed lieutenant-general, and joined the French army with his squadron of Life Guards, near Courtenay.

The army then marched towards Maestricht, and, on the 7th of June, 1673, invested the town. Lines of circumvallation were formed, with bridges of communication over the Maes, above and below the city. The King had his head-quarters at a place called Ouwater ; the Duke of Orleans occupied the side of the Wick ; and the Duke of Monmouth, with eight thousand horse and foot, invested the lower side of the city.

On the 17th of June, the trenches were opened ; and, on the 24th, the Duke of Monmouth led a detachment against the counterscarp with such invincible courage that he soon carried it ; and advancing to the outward half-moon, which was before the Brussels gate, after a brisk dispute of about half an hour he won that also, though the besieged sprang two mines during the attack. On the following day, another mine was sprung by the enemy, which blew a captain, ensign, and sixty soldiers into the air ; then making a furious sally on the troops who had relieved the men under his Grace's command, and who now occupied the outward half-moon and counterscarp, they drove them back with great slaughter.

The undaunted Monmouth, unwilling to lose what he had but the day before purchased with so much hazard and such unheard-of courage, drew his sword, and, with Captain Churchill,* and twelve private gentlemen of the Life Guards, who volunteered to accompany him, leaped over the trenches ; then, regardless of a shower of bullets from the enemy, they rushed through one of their sally-ports, and, with incredible speed, passed along the works, within twenty yards of their palisades, until they met the soldiers flying before the enemy. The arrival of the Duke with his followers inspired the troops with fresh valour : they turned round upon their pursuers ; and the heroic Monmouth and Churchill, with the Life Guards, who cast aside their carbines and drew their swords, led the troops they had rallied to the charge with such invincible courage, that they drove back the Dutch, and

* Afterwards the Great Duke of Marlborough.



SIEGE OF MAESTRICHT.

regained the outward half-moon—his Grace being the first who entered it—to the admiration of all who beheld their gallant conduct. The horn-work and half-moon were taken on the 27th. Louis XIV. stood on a hill, and viewed the whole action; immediately after which, the besieged beat a parley, and, on the 2nd July, surrendered the town.*

Peace was shortly afterwards concluded between the King of England and the States-General, when the extent of the British seas was particularly mentioned, and the States undertook that not only separate ships, but whole fleets, should strike their sails to any fleet, or single ship carrying the King's flag, as the custom was in the days of his ancestors.*

CHAPTER III.

The scattered Quarters and various Duties of the Guards—First Introduction of Grenadiers—War with France—Battle of St. Denis—Unpopular Peace with Louis XIV.—Revelations of Titus Oates—Close Attendance of the Guards on the King in consequence—Tangiers besieged by the Moors—Relieved by the Guards—The Troops of Morocco defeated by the British—Insurrection of the Covenanters in Scotland—Murder of Archbishop Sharp—Conventicle at London Hill—Affair of Drumclog—The Duke of Monmouth commands the Army against the Insurgents—Battle of Bothwell Bridge.

At this period, barracks being unknown in England, the Guards were quartered at inns, victualling-houses, taverns, and ale-houses; and it may be interesting to some of our readers to know that the principal quarters occupied by them were in those portions which had been spared by the Great Fire, of Drury-lane, Holborn, St. Giles's, Gray's-inn, Long-acre, Covent-garden, St. Martin's-lane, Field-lane, and St. Dunstan's in the West. In these humble lodgments the soldiers were enjoined "to carry themselves civilly, and duly pay for what they shall receive at their quarters."† It was further ordered that no serjeant or

* Historical Account of the Heroic Actions of James, Duke of Monmouth.

† Bishop Parker's History of His Own Times.

‡ It had been usual to allow the non-commissioned officers and soldiers eight-pence a day above their regular pay, to defray the additional expense of their

corporal was to continue to keep any victualling or ale-house; from which it may be inferred that such a practice had been in existence; and further, that no soldier was to marry without the consent of his captain—a wholesome regulation, which is still rigidly enforced in the army.

As the duties of the Guards necessarily embraced a variety of petty services, it may be sufficient to refer to them generally here, that their too frequent recurrence may not interrupt the narrative of more important affairs. They were occasionally employed in guarding treasure from the Pay-office in London to one or other of the outports; in escorting the Royal Family from one part of London to another, or to and from the country; in sending detachments to aid the officers of excise in collecting the revenue, and parties to convey the sums collected to London, &c. &c. By the official records, it appears that the King took a detachment of his Life Guards with him wherever he went; but it does not appear that he was in the habit of travelling to a greater distance from the metropolis than Newmarket, where King James I. had erected a house, which was destroyed during the Civil Wars; but Charles II., being a distinguished patron of horse-racing, which was conducted in a superior style at that place, rebuilt the house, and frequently resided there for short periods, on which occasions he was attended by a strong party of his Life Guards. These various duties, however trifling they may appear, still kept the Guards in constant employment.

The idea of introducing Grenadiers into the British army was first entertained by Charles II.; and two men from each company of the King's and Coldstream Regiments of Guards were trained and exercised by Captain Lloyd, of the First Guards, for the duty of Grenadiers. In 1768, Grenadier companies were generally adopted in regiments of foot: nor were they confined to the infantry

quarters, when quartered in Southwark; and it being represented that other places in the suburbs of London were not less expensive, the same allowance was granted to the troops when quartered in Holborn.—*War-office Records.*

alone, for to each of the three troops of Horse Guards a corps of sixty-four Grenadiers, with two drums, four hautbois, two corporals, two serjeants, and two lieutenants were attached. These corps were armed with arquebuses and bayonets, and distinguished by caps and looped clothes.*

Evelyn, in his Memoirs, gives the following description of the Grenadiers :—"Returned with my lord (Lord Chamberlaine) by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new-raised army encamp'd, design'd against France, in pretence at least, but which gave umbrage to the Parliament. His Majesty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole army were in battalia, a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers, called Grenadiers, who were dexterous in flinging hand granados, every one having a pouch full : they had furred caps with coped crownes like Janizaries, which made them looke very fierce; and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools : their clothing being likewise pyebald, yellow and red."

This army alluded to by Evelyn as raised against France, but which gave umbrage to the Parliament, was occasioned by a private quarrel which Charles II. and the Duke of York had with Louis XIV. for not increasing their pensions, by which he had purchased their connivance at his ambitious designs. Charles made preparations to renew the triple alliance between England, Spain, and the United Provinces against France; and in the spring of 1678, after Parliament had voted the supplies, several new regiments were raised, a number of sub-corporals and private gentlemen of the Life Guards received commissions in the new corps, and the Foot Guards were also greatly augmented.

The allied armies being assembled in Flanders, commenced operations. The Duke of Monmouth, who commanded the British contingent, united his forces to those of the Prince of Orange. Several regiments also were

* Grose's Military Antiquities.

detached, under the Earl of Ossory, to act in conjunction with the Spanish forces. Colonel John Churchill * embarked with the last division, and was appointed to command a brigade, composed of two battalions of the First and Coldstream Guards, one Dutch regiment, and the regiments of the Prince of Orange and Colonel Legge.†

On the 14th of September, the battle of St. Denis was fought, near Mons, when the English, headed by the Earl of Ossory, greatly distinguished themselves; but the Prince of Orange soon after signed a treaty with the French, which was the prelude to a general peace. An alliance was projected between England, Germany, Spain, and Holland, to restrain the ambition of Louis XIV.; but Charles, contrary to the interest of England, acted on this occasion in subservience to France. His assistance was implored by those powers in vain; but, unfortunately for the country, his extravagant and dissolute habits induced him to receive pecuniary donations from Louis XIV., and the Treaty of Nimeguen was the consequence. A considerable reduction took place in the Guards at the conclusion of the war.

This year orders were issued for a more close and constant attendance of the Life Guards on the person of his Majesty, whose safety was supposed to be in danger, from the existence of a conspiracy, the particulars of which had been made known by Titus Oates. This worthless impostor pretended to have discovered a plot of the Catholics for assassinating the King, burning London, massacring the Protestants, and placing the Duke of York on the throne. Another villain, named Bedloe, joined his evidence to that of Oates; and on their perjured testimony, which was afterwards fully exposed, a few miserable priests suffered death. A new test was imposed which excluded all Papists from both Houses of Parliament;

* Afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

† At this period the different regiments of the army were not numbered as at present; but each took rank according to the date of the commission of its colonel, the Guards only excepted.

and a bill passed the House of Commons, excluding the Duke of York from the succession to the Crown.* The King also issued a proclamation offering a reward of twenty pounds for the discovery of any officer or soldier who, having taken the oaths, had since been perverted to that faith. As a further precaution against this imaginary danger, one captain, one subaltern, and two corporals of the Life Guards were ordered to be in constant attendance upon the King, and to accompany him whenever he walked out. The captain was commanded to follow next his Majesty's person, before all others; and his attendance was to be as well within doors as without, excepting only in the royal bedchamber.† In the autumn, when the King went to Newmarket, he was not only attended by the usual detachments of Life Guards, but also by the Horse Grenadiers; and other precautions were taken to insure the personal safety of his Majesty.

At this period a table was provided, at the public expense, for the officers of the Life Guards who attended on his Majesty, and the cost was defrayed by the Paymaster-General. Somerset House, which since the Restoration had been the residence of the Queen-Mother, was also given up to furnish quarters for the Foot Guards, her Majesty retiring to St. James's Palace.

Tangiers, which had come into our possession by the marriage of Charles II. with Donna Catherina, the Infanta of Portugal, being at this time besieged by an army from Morocco, Charles recommended the House of Commons to

* The Exclusion Bill was thrown out in the Lords: it passed on the first reading by a majority of two, but was thrown out on the second reading by a majority of sixty-three against thirty.

† "Besides this," says Chamberlayne, in his *Anglicæ Notitia*, "there is a more strict duty and attendance on the King's person on foot, wheresoever he walks, from his rising to his going to bed; and this is performed by one of the three captains, who always waits immediately next to the King's own person, before all others, carrying in his hand an ebony staff, or truncheon, with a gold head, engraved with his Majesty's cypher and crown: near him also attends another principal commissioned officer, with an ebony staff and silver head, who is ready to relieve the captain on occasions." The captain was subsequently styled "Gold Stick in Waiting," and the other officer "Silver Stick in Waiting;" both of which appellations are continued to the present time.

take measures for its preservation ; but Parliament, more in dread of a Popish successor than anxious to protect a distant possession, was unwilling to grant further supplies.* The occupation of Tangiers was, however, said by the Court party to be of importance to the Levant trade ; and it was asserted that the two millions embarked in that commerce would be lost. Finally, a detachment of the Coldstream, of one hundred and twenty officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, sailed from Portsmouth, with double the number from the First Foot Guards, and detachments from other corps, which completed them to five companies, or six hundred men. The command was given to the Earl of Mulgrave, and on their arrival at the garrison of Tangiers they were styled the King's Battalion.

The arrival of these seasonable succours gave great courage to the garrison of Tangiers, which had long withstood the strength of the whole kingdom of Fez ; but at last the numbers of the assailants had increased so much, and by the intermixture in their ranks of renegades from Christian States they had become so skilful in the art of war, that the prospects of the garrison began to darken grievously, and all their hope of safety lay with the authorities at home. It was, therefore, with great delight they witnessed the arrival of a battalion of Foot Guards, sixteen companies of Dumbarton's, now the First or Royal Regiment of Foot, six new troops of horse, and three well-equipped and well-mounted squadrons of Spanish cavalry.

The most memorable battle that was fought during this long and desperate siege took place on the 27th of September, 1680. On that day all the disposable strength of the garrison, amounting to four thousand men, marched out to attack the entrenched camp of the enemy, in which were assembled fifteen thousand soldiers—many of them

* "The Parliament, enraged at the rejection of the Exclusion Bill, refused to vote any supplies for the deliverance of Tangier, which they denominated a nursery for Popish soldiers."—*Life of King James.*



DEFEAT OF THE MOORS AT TANGERS.

very little, if at all inferior, either in their armament or discipline, to the assailants. There was much honourable rivalry on this occasion between the English and the Spanish cavalry. Both claimed the privilege of being first in the charge; and it is to the credit of the governor, Colonel Sackville, that he conceded the post of honour to the Spaniards. "We are at home," was his argument; "these gentlemen come abroad, of their own accord, to assist us. It is fitting that they should have in the battle what station they will; let us not grudge them the privilege." Accordingly, to the Spaniards was yielded that which the English were loth to give away—the honour of acting in the front, while the English horse should support them; and they accordingly set forward in the best possible temper, and with the settled resolution to conquer.

The Moors being very superior in numbers, seemed little disposed at first to depend on their entrenchments. They marched out into the open plain to meet the English; and there might be seen the chivalrous daring of the Spanish horse, which dashed forward, almost before the word was given, and performed prodigies of valour. It was not, however, this fierce onset, so much as the steady advance of the English foot, that compelled the barbarians to give way. The musketry fire of the Guards, and of the rest of the infantry, was terrible; and then the rush of the pikes, supported by the musketeers and the cannon, could no longer be withstood. The Moors fled in confusion to their works; but there they found no safety. Over the ramparts and across the ditches the foot-soldiers made their way, while the horse, with the utmost steadiness and good order, kept moving on, though not engaging, but waiting till the moment should come when they might do so effectually. It came at last. The infantry having won the ramparts, levelled a space through which the cavalry might pass, and then they carried all before them, riding down horse and foot with the same apparent ease, and chasing the fugitives to a great distance across the plain. It was a complete victory; and the trophies left in the

hands of the conquerors included not a few of the enemy's cannon, several standards, and almost all their camp-equipage.

Notwithstanding this triumph, the Parliament, jealous of a standing army, refused to advance the necessary funds for the defence of Tangiers ; and Charles, though reluctantly, relinquished a post he could no longer maintain. The troops were accordingly withdrawn, and the fortifications destroyed so effectually, that nothing but the ruins were left of this once magnificent city.

But we have somewhat anticipated in order to conclude the service of the Guards at Tangiers, and must now return to an affair at home, in which they equally distinguished themselves.

The imprudent attempt, in the early part of the reign of Charles II., to impose episcopacy on the Scots, had excited amongst the rigid Presbyterians and Covenanters the most general discontent, and produced the most violent commotions. The solemn League and Covenant, so long the shibboleth of the disaffected in Scotland, was again set up as a war-cry by preachers of sedition ; and numbers of deluded persons, taking the law into their own hands, resolved to execute what they termed "righteous judgment" upon all who had made themselves instrumental in furthering this most unpopular measure.

Amongst these, Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, having formerly advocated the Covenant, and afterwards become a supporter of episcopacy, was held in detestation and abhorrence ; and one Carmichael, who had been made chamberlain to the primate, and sheriff-depute of Fife, had also rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the Presbyterians, by his rigorous assiduity in harassing those who attended conventicles. Hackstone, of Rathillet, a gentleman of Fifeshire, with eight countrymen, armed with swords, carbines, and pistols, went in search of this man, with the intention of murdering him ; but, being put upon his guard, he kept out of their way. Meanwhile, these fanatics having heard that the Archbishop of St. Andrews

was at Ceres, and had to pass that way in his carriage, interpreted this circumstance into an interposition of Providence, and exclaiming, with gloomy rapture, "He is delivered into our hands!" instantly resolved upon his death. Observing the coach passing at a distance, they gave chase; and on overtaking it, they tore the Archbishop from the arms of his daughter, dragged him from the coach, and with repeated wounds put him to immediate death.

To avenge this atrocious deed, and bring the murderers to condign punishment, Captain Graham of Claverhouse* marched at the head of his own independent troop of horse, and a detachment of dragoons, towards London Hill, where a numerous armed conventicle had publicly burnt the Act of Supremacy, and the Act for the establishment of Episcopacy, and declared their intention to continue in arms to prosecute the covenanted work of reformation: some of them even went so far as to disown the reigning monarch, and every one of his successors who would not acknowledge the solemn League and Covenant. They were joined by numerous Presbyterians, who had been the principal sufferers during the oppressions of the time, and who, though by no means united among themselves either concerning the purpose of this formidable insurrection or its prospect of success, yet looked upon it as a means of obtaining liberty of conscience, and release from a tyranny directed both against body and soul.

Claverhouse came up with the insurgents at Drumclog, on Sunday, the 1st of June, 1679, and attacked them immediately; but the Covenanters having an immense superiority of numbers, and their front being covered by a bog, succeeded in repulsing the King's troops, who lost thirty or forty men in the action. Claverhouse made the best retreat he could to Glasgow, where his soldiers threw up barricades in the centre of the city. On the following day, the rebels attempting to force the barricades,

* Created Viscount Dundee in 1688.

were repulsed ; but Claverhouse, satisfied with this advantage, and unwilling to risk the handful of troops under his command against the numerous and increasing bands of the Covenanters, evacuated the place, and marched towards Edinburgh.

The insurgents thereupon entered Glasgow without resistance, and were rapidly joined by recruits emboldened by the advantage obtained over the King's troops at Loudon Hill ; while the retreat of Claverhouse and the possession of Glasgow still further tended to animate the insurgent army, and to increase its numbers.

The Privy Council of Scotland, astonished at the extent of resistance which their arbitrary measures had provoked, seemed stupified with terror, and incapable of taking active steps to subdue the resentment which these measures had excited. There were but very few troops in Scotland, and these they drew towards Edinburgh, as if to form an army for the protection of the metropolis. The feudal array of the Crown vassals, in the various counties, was ordered to take the field, and render to the King the military service due for their fiefs ; but the summons was very slackly obeyed, the quarrel not being generally popular among the gentry.

Meanwhile, the inadequacy of the Scottish Government to provide for their own defence, or to put down a rebellion which at the commencement seemed so trifling, excited at the English Court doubts at once of their capacity, and of the prudence of the severities they had exercised against the Presbyterians. It was therefore resolved to nominate the Duke of Monmouth to the command of the army of Scotland, and he was invested with a commission containing high powers for settling the affairs of that distracted country. The King ordered the three divisions of Horse Grenadier Guards, three regiments of horse, and eight hundred Dragoons, to accompany the Duke to Scotland ; and his Majesty also issued warrants for the raising of three additional troops of Horse Grenadier Guards, to be added to the troops of Life Guards, of the same numbers as those raised in the preceding years.



BATTLE OF BOTHWELL BRIDGE.

Preparations were now making on both sides for the coming struggle; but while the Scotch Government seemed satisfied with preventing the rebels from advancing towards the capital, the insurgents were intent upon augmenting and strengthening their forces. For this purpose they established a sort of encampment in the park belonging to the ducal residence of Hamilton, a central situation for receiving their recruits, and where they were secured from any sudden attack, by having the Clyde, a deep and rapid river, in front of their position, which was only passable by a long and narrow bridge near the castle and village of Bothwell.

On the 19th of June, the Duke of Monmouth having united the English troops he had brought with him to the troop of Scots Life Guards, the regiment of Foot Guards, and other forces, at Blackburn, sent forward Major Oglethorp, with a detachment of horse and Dragoons; and on the 22nd the whole force came up with the rebels, posted near Bothwell Castle, between Hamilton and Glasgow, with the Clyde in their front, and occupying Bothwell Bridge, which was strongly barricaded and guarded by a numerous body of men.

Meanwhile, the advices which had been received, that the royal army, having been recruited from England by a large detachment of the King's Guards, were about to take the field, had somewhat dismayed the courage of the insurgents; but the sight of the glittering array of the Life Guards, supported by the Foot Guards, the artillery, and the plaided clans, who seemed to be seeking for a ford, struck them with as much consternation as if it were an unexpected apparition, and not the very thing they might have looked for. Their main dependance was now upon the bridge, which, as we have stated, being long and narrow, with a portal gate, built, according to the old fashion, on the central arch, might easily be defended against a very superior force. Over this the enemy must necessarily advance to the attack; but if once they succeeded in crossing, all beyond was a plain open field, on

* Now the Scots Fusilier Guards.

which the undisciplined forces of the insurgents, unprovided as they were with cavalry and artillery, could not hope to withstand the shock of regular troops.

The Duke having ordered the bridge to be attacked, the regiment of Foot Guards advanced rapidly in close column towards the river ; and while one division, deploying along the right bank, commenced a galling fire on the defenders of the pass, the other pressed on to occupy the bridge. The insurgents sustained the attack with great constancy and courage ; and while part of their number returned the fire across the river, the rest maintained a discharge of musketry upon the further end of the bridge itself, and every avenue by which the soldiers endeavoured to approach it. The latter suffered severely, but still gained ground, and the head of their column had even advanced upon the bridge, but the regular and well-sustained fire of the defenders compelled them to retire with heavy loss.

The artillery, which had hitherto been employed in annoying the distant main body of the Presbyterians, was now turned upon the defenders of the bridge ; and the Duke, rallying the Foot Guards, brought them on to another close and desperate attack, while General Dalzell, leading a body of Lennox Highlanders, rushed forward with the slogan or war-cry of the MacFarlanes. At this important crisis the ammunition of the defenders of the bridge began to fail ; but it was in vain that they sent for succours and supplies to the main body of the Presbyterian army, which remained inactively drawn up on the open fields in the rear.

The fire of the defenders, therefore, began to slacken, while that of the assailants increased, and in its turn became more fatal. Animated by the voices and example of their generals, they rushed upon the bridge, and cleared away the obstacles by which it was blockaded. The portal gate was burst open ; the beams, trunks of trees, and other materials of the barricade pulled down and thrown into the river ; while the rebels, who still, with their pikes,

halberds, and partisans, encountered the bayonets of the Guards and the broadswords of the Highlanders, began to fly from the unequal combat towards the main body.

The passage was at length fairly open, and the Life Guards and Dragoons, crossing the bridge, formed in line of battle on the moor, and without a moment's delay charged the devoted army of the Covenanters, which, after an ill-directed and disorderly fire, broke and fled in confusion. About twelve hundred of the insurgents, throwing down their arms, surrendered at discretion, on the approach of the Duke of Monmouth at the head of the infantry; and that mild-tempered nobleman instantly granted them the quarter they prayed for, galloping about through the field, and exerting himself as much in stopping the slaughter as he had done to obtain the victory.

CHAPTER IV.

Numerical Strength of the Guards—Improved Organisation of the Army—Dress, Arms, and Accoutrements of the Life and Foot Guards—Political Discontents in England—Plots and Conspiracies—The Rye-house Plot—Fidelity of the Guards—Execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney—Flight of the Duke of Monmouth—Death of Charles II.—James II. attempts to restore Popery—Monmouth's Rebellion—Proclaimed King by the Insurgents—The Guards are sent against them—Action at Caniston Bridge—Affair at Philip's Norton—Battle of Sedgemore—Defeat, Sufferings, and Execution of Monmouth.

At this period the Guards may be said to have constituted the standing army of England; for though troops were occasionally levied for particular services, these supernumeraries, as they may be called, invariably returned to private life as soon as the particular service came to an end. During the reign of Charles II. the establishment of the Guards never exceeded five thousand men; and a portion of this even he found it necessary to reduce in his latter days, when the breach between him and his Parliament became irreparable. The following muster-roll, made out a very few months before the death

of the King, shows that he had then but four thousand men in his pay, nearly all of whom were Guards :—

	Privates.
Three troops of Grenadier Guards . .	180
His Majesty's First Troop of Guards .	200
The Queen's Troop of Guards . .	200
The Duke of York's Troop of Guards .	200
First Battalion of First Foot Guards .	530
Second Battalion of ditto	480
Battalion of his Royal Highness's Guards	530
Battalion of Royal Regiment of Foot .	558
Battalion of the Coldstream Guards .	530
Royal Regiment of Horse (Oxford Blues)	400
Royal Regiment of Dragoons	300
	<hr/>
	4,108

The reign of Charles II. may be said to constitute an era in the military history of England, not only for the establishment of a regular army, but for the abolition of feudal tenures by Act of Parliament, while a new and better organisation was given to the defensive force of the kingdom. In this act the King's right to command the militia was clearly recognised ; and all housekeepers, and other substantial persons, were ordered to provide for the service of that militia men and horses, arms, ammunition, and pay, each in proportion to the amount of his real or personal estate.

The arms, offensive and defensive, which these "substantial persons" were required to provide, varied according to the liabilities of individuals. Such as sent a horseman to the place of muster supplied him with a breast and back piece, and a pot, or iron skull-cap, a sword, and a case of long-barrelled pistols ; while his horse was furnished with a great saddle or pad, having bars or straps for affixing the holsters, a bit and bridle, with a pectoral and crupper. The footmen were either musketeers or pikemen: the former wielded a musket,

having a barrel not under three feet in length, with a collar of bandoliers ;* and the latter carried an ashen pike, not under sixteen feet long (head and foot included), with a back, breast, and head piece ; and both carried swords. When these levies were called out in a state of preparation for active service, the musketeer was obliged to show half a pound of powder, half a pound of bullets,† and three yards of match ; while the horseman produced his quarter of a pound of powder, and the same weight of bullets, provided at the expense of the person who supplied the soldier.

The arms of the Guards at this period underwent an important change. Their matchlocks were discontinued, though used in regiments of infantry to a later period ; and they were supplied instead with the snaphance, or flint and steel firelock. The bayonet, too, which had been adopted generally in the French army in 1671, was now first given to the English Dragoons, and the grenadier companies of the Foot Guards. But it differed from the modern bayonet in this important particular—that when fixed, or screwed, it disabled the musket from further service as a fire-arm ; the handle of the dagger being forced into the muzzle of the piece, which became in consequence neither more nor less than a short pike, or partizan.‡

In the field, the Horse Grenadiers acted like a company of Grenadiers to a battalion, and were armed with muskets and grenades. They dismounted, linked their horses, fired, screwed their daggers into the muzzles of their muskets, charged, returned their daggers, fired, and threw grenades by ranks,§ the centre and rear ranks advancing

* The old cartouch-box, consisting of small wooden cases, each containing sufficient powder for a musket-charge.

† The present complement for the field is sixty ounces.

‡ At this period, by his Majesty's command, eight rifle carbines were carried in each troop of Life Guards: this appears to have been the first introduction of rifles into the British service.

§ Experience, in due time, led to the abandonment of the grenade—a projectile which could not be used except in peculiar situations, and produced, at the best, more tumult than destruction.

in succession through the intervals between the file leaders ; they then grounded their arms, went to the right-about, and dispersed ; and, at the "preparative," or beating "to arms," they drew their swords, and stood by their arms, falling in with a huzza : they then returned their swords, shouldered and slung their muskets, marched to their horses, unlinked and mounted ; after which they fired their pistols and muskets on horseback.*

The Life Guards at this period, we are informed,† "were distinguished by their carbine-belts of velvet, laced with gold and silver ; by their red hooses and holster-caps, embroidered with the royal cypher and crown ; coated and cloaked in scarlet lined with blue ; with grenadier caps lined with the same, and a blue round mark on the outside ; armed with bayonets and harquebuzes."

"The Queen's troop distinguished by carbine-belts of green velvet, laced with gold ; green hooses and holster-caps, embroidered as the King's. The Grenadiers differed by green loops with yellow tufts."

"The Duke's troop distinguished by carbine-belts, laced with silver upon yellow velvet ; hooses and holster-caps embroidered upon yellow ; the standard and guidon yellow damask, with his Royal Highness's cypher and coronet. The Grenadiers differed by their coat-loops of yellow."

The dress of the Foot Guards, we learn,‡ was as follows :—"The officers of the First Regiment of Foot Guards were exceedingly richly habited ; some in coats of cloth of gold, others in crimson velvet, imbroidered or laced with gold or silver ; but most of them in fine scarlet cloth buttoned down the breast, and on the facings of the sleeves with silver-plate.

"Their scarffs (which they wore about their wastes) were either network of gold or silver, or crimson taffata richly fringed with gold or silver. And their hats were adorned with tours of white feathers.

* Treatise on Military Discipline, 1684.

† A General and Complete List Military of His Majesty's Land Forces at the time of the Review upon Putney Heath, October 1st, 1684.

‡ Sandford's History of the Coronation of James II.

"The captains were distinguished by corslets or gorgets of silver-plate doubly gilt; the lieutenants by corslets of steel, polished and sanguined, and studded with nails of gold; and the ensigns had their corslets of silver-plate.

"The private soldiers were all new-clothed in coats of red broad-cloth, lined and faced with blew; their hats were black, laced about with silver, turned up and garnished with blew ribbands. Their breeches were of blew broad-cloth, and the stockings of blew worsted.

"The musquetiers were armed with snaphance muskets with sanguined barrels, good swords in waste-belts, and collars of bandiliers; and the pikemen with pikes sixteen foot long, each headed with a three-square point of steel, and good swords in broad shoulder-belts; wearing also about their wastes sashes or scarffs of white worsted fringed with blew.

"The granadiers (*viz.*, two companies) were clothed as the musketeers, but distinguished by caps of red cloth lined with blew shaloon, and laced with silver galoon about the edges; and on the frontlets of the said caps (which were very large and high) was imbroidered the King's cipher and crown. Each of these granadiers was armed with a long carabine strapt, the barrel thereof three foot two inches in length, a cartouch-box, bionet, Granada-pouch, and a hammer-hatchet.

The officers of the Coldstream Guards "were exceeding richly habited, but differing in their imbroideries, laces, and fringes, which were of gold, and their buttons of gold-thread, from the officers of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, which had them of silver.

"The captains, lieutenants, and ensigns were distinguished by corslets, or gorgets, as those officers of the First Regiment; and their hats were also adorned with tours of white feathers.

"The private soldiers were in all points armed and accoutred as the First Regiment, and agreeable to them in their clothing, except their breeches, which were of red broad-cloth, and their stockings of red worsted."

Thus much for the dress, arms, accoutrements, and numerical strength of the Guards at this period : we now return to the more interesting narrative of their exploits and services.

In 1681, his Royal Highness the Duke of York having been appointed his Majesty's representative in Scotland, proceeded to Edinburgh, and took up his residence at the palace of Holyrood House, where he kept a splendid court, and where he was attended by the Scots Life Guards, and the Scots Regiment of Foot Guards (now Third or Fusilier Guards), all ceremonies being observed in the same manner as if the King had been present. On this occasion the citizens of Edinburgh made several public displays of loyalty ; and notwithstanding the lack of harmony between the Court and Parliament in England, these displays of loyalty were not confined to Scotland. In the following year, when the Duke and Duchess of York returned to England, they were received everywhere with the greatest demonstrations of joy ; and being met at Erriff by the King and Queen, with a party of Life Guards, they were escorted into London in great state.

But after the violent commotions and scenes of bloodshed which had been so prevalent in the kingdom previous to the Restoration, the minds of men did not at once settle into a calm. There were in the country many bigoted Papists, uncompromising Republicans, and others, dissatisfied with the existing state of things : hence arose plots and conspiracies, and the nation was often alarmed by reports of dangers, which were sometimes real and at other times imaginary. The discontents of the kingdom were much increased by the King's known attachment to Popery, and by the circumstance of his brother, the Duke of York, who was heir to the crown, openly professing that religion. Great fears were, therefore, entertained for the safety of the Protestant religion, and these were heightened by the arts of demagogues and other designing men.

In the spring of 1683, the lives of his Majesty and the Duke of York were considered to have been endangered by the existence of a conspiracy, known by the name of the "Rye-house Plot," from the place where the conspirators intended to execute their purpose. A combination had, in fact, been formed by a number of distinguished persons, to raise an insurrection against the King; but they appear to have differed widely in their objects. The Duke of Monmouth aspired to the crown; Lord Russell proposed the exclusion of the Duke of York, and a redress of grievances; while Algernon Sydney wished to restore the republic. But no legal proof was adduced of their being implicated in the "Rye-house Plot," which was got up by a set of inferior persons for the assassination of the King.

Notice of this plot was first made known by one Keeling, who declared the object of it to be the murder of his Majesty and the Duke of York, with the Guards that attended them, on their way to Newmarket. Evidence was also produced of a further plan for surprising and murdering the Royal Guards in London, at the different taverns and hotels at which they were quartered; their fidelity to the sovereign being so well known, that an idea of shaking it by any means was never for a moment entertained. The result of these and other disclosures was, that Lord William Russell and Algernon Sydney were executed; Lords Shaftesbury and Grey, and the Duke of Monmouth, escaped to the Continent; and the Earl of Essex, while confined in the Tower, was found with his throat cut.

At this period the reign of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Christendom; but new discontents and treasons were secretly diffusing their poison, while the spirit of liberty still struggled hard against the spirit of obedience which the clergy attempted to inculcate. Another civil war, therefore, threatened the nation, still more dreadful than the former, as the forces were more equally divided; but Charles happily died before those

calamities could return. He was seized with an apoplectic fit on the 6th of February, 1685, and having no legitimate children, he was succeeded by the Duke of York.

James began his reign by going openly and in royal state to mass ; and showed, from the commencement, his intention to restore Popery. The discontent caused by this conduct encouraged the Duke of Monmouth to make another attempt on the crown.

When Monmouth had fled to Holland, he was cordially received by the Prince of Orange ; but on the accession of King James II., the Prince, at the desire of that monarch, dismissed the Duke and his followers from the States, and they retired to Brussels. There were at that time many political exiles on the Continent, who, presuming that the Protestants of England would never submit to be governed by a king who openly professed himself a papist, prevailed upon the Duke to invade England. It was also arranged that the Earl of Argyle, who was likewise in Holland, should invade Scotland at the same time. The Earl of Argyle landed at Lorn on the 13th of May ; but not receiving that assistance which he expected, and being pursued by the King's army under the Earl of Dumbarton, he was deserted by his followers, captured, and beheaded at Edinburgh, on the 30th of June.

The Duke himself, accompanied by a small band of officers and others, who had fled to the Continent to avoid punishment or persecution, landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, on the 11th of June, and set up his standard in the market-place. Being joined by a concourse of people, he soon had the appearance of an army ; and he marched to Taunton, in Somersetshire, where he was proclaimed king, by the name of James II., and at Bridgewater also, where his followers increased so fast that he was compelled to send numbers away for want of arms.

News of this rebellion having reached the Court, a bill of attainder was immediately passed against this rash and unfortunate man, whose excuse for his invasion was, that James had occasioned the fire of London, the death of

Charles II., and also the murder of Godfrey and Essex ; and in his proclamation the King was styled a "Popish usurper."

As James had no great confidence in his militia, whom he had sent the Duke of Albemarle to assemble in Devonshire, he despatched a battalion of the Coldstream, with two battalions of the First Guards, and some other troops, who marched, on the 20th of June, for Marlborough. On their way to Weston, Lord Churchill was also sent to the West, with part of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Oxford Blues), and a party of the Royal Dragoons ; and soon afterwards his Majesty sent the Earl of Feversham, captain of the third troop of Life Guards, with a detachment of Life Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards, with two more troops of the Blues, and two of the Royal Dragoons. These troops in all amounted to two thousand eight hundred foot, and seven hundred horse : the train of artillery consisted of sixteen field-pieces. They were all under the command of the Earl of Feversham.

The Duke of Monmouth marched from Bridgewater, his numbers still increasing, and proceeded to Bath, where he was refused admittance ; and being advised not to enter Bristol, he returned to Bridgewater. When on the march, a detachment of the rebels was attacked at Caniston Bridge, between Bristol and Bath, by Lieutenant-Colonel Oglethorp, with a party of Life Guards, who cut off two troops of their best horse, killing between eighty and one hundred on the spot.

The Earl of Feversham, having collected the King's forces, went immediately in pursuit of the rebels. A detachment of Life Guards, with the Grenadier company of the First Foot Guards, were sent to reconnoitre near Philips Norton ; and on their return they found a narrow lane, along which they had to pass, blocked up with rebel horse, and the hedges on both sides of the lane lined with rebel foot, who commenced a straggling fire of musketry. Their retreat being thus apparently

cut off, the Life Guards raised a loud shout, and dashed forward upon their adversaries in a style which bespoke them worthy successors of the Cavalier gentlemen who fought in the royal cause in the time of Charles I. The Foot Guards followed in full career, and, throwing their hand-grenades over the hedges, put the rebel infantry in disorder. The weight and fury of the royal troopers proved irresistible, and the rebel horsemen were overthrown and sabred by their more powerful antagonists. Lieut. Vaughan, of the Horse Grenadier Guards, slew, in a personal combat, Colonel Matthews, who commanded the rebel horse on this occasion. A few moments sufficed to decide the contest : about twenty rebels lay dead in the lane, and the remainder gave way and fled. About ten of the King's men fell in this encounter, and the rest retired leisurely to the main body.

Monmouth, on learning that his confederate Argyle was routed and taken prisoner, had fallen into a state of despondency ; but the injudicious arrangements of Lord Feversham in the disposal of his troops induced him to attempt a surprise of the King's forces at Sedgemore, near Bridgewater. The royal army was encamped at this place on the 5th of July ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Oglethorp, with a party of Life Guards, was sent to patrol in the direction of Bristol. About eleven o'clock at night, the Duke of Monmouth left Bridgewater, and marched with his forces against the camp, with the hope of obtaining an easy victory. The Duke marched at the head of the infantry, and Lord Grey commanded the horse. About two on the following morning, the rebels attacked the King's camp, but were frustrated in their object, their progress being checked by the advanced guard, consisting of a squadron of horse, fifty of the Royal Dragoons, and one hundred of the Royal Regiment of Foot, which gave time for the main body to get under arms.* A desperate

* "Dumbarton's Regiment, the Royals, was the only battalion of the King's foot that had matchlocks ; by seeing the light of which, Monmouth was enabled to approach the King's troops, the night of the action. The brunt of the rebels' fire fell on the First Foot Guards and Royals."—*Harl. MS.*, No. 6845.



combat ensued, in which the rebel foot, though for the most part untrained men, displayed great bravery ; their artillery was also well directed, and did great execution ; but their horse, under Lord Grey, after receiving the fire of one or two battalions, fled in disorder. Lieutenant-Colonel Oglethorp, having learnt that Monmouth had marched with his army from Bridgewater, returned to the camp with all speed, and formed his men on the right of the infantry.

The battle was still raging, when Lieutenant-Colonel Villiers led a squadron of Life Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards, with a troop of the Blues, and another of Royal Dragoons, against the right flank of the rebel army ; while Lieutenant-Colonel Oglethorp, with a squadron of Life Guards, and Sir Francis Compton and Lord Cornbury, with the remainder of the Blues and Royal Dragoons, menaced the enemy's left. Villiers and his Life Guards dashed at speed upon the rebel host, and, having broken the opposing ranks, plunged into the midst of the disordered masses, and trampled and cut down the insurgents with terrific violence ; while the Blues and Royal Dragoons joined in the charge with equal ardour, and the Royalist foot passed the ditch which lay between the two armies. The rebel scythemen made a resolute resistance, and their musketeers, having expended their ammunition, fought with the butt-ends of their muskets with great fury, and several Life Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards fell mortally wounded. But the weight and power of the heavy horsemen, and the resolute charge of the King's foot, eventually prevailed. The insurgents were routed and pursued across the moor and adjoining fields with dreadful carnage, three hundred being killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit.

The Duke escaped the carnage, and, in a shepherd's disguise, fled on foot, attended by a faithful companion, who had followed his fortunes into England. Thus they travelled onwards towards Dorsetshire, till, quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they lay down in a ditch

and covered themselves with stubble. In this forlorn situation he was found, with some peas in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life. His spirit sank with his misfortunes, and he wrote to the King imploring his mercy. The King gave him an audience, as if willing to satisfy his vengeance with the sight of a rival's misery ; but his death was determined on, and no intreaties could extort royal clemency. On the scaffold he resumed his former courage, handled the axe, declared that he meant well to the nation, and his head was cut off, but not till after the third blow. His followers were punished with dreadful severity ; a number were murdered in cold blood after the battle ; and about two hundred and fifty persons were executed by order of the notorious Judge Jefferies, who was sent to try the prisoners, and for which service he was made Lord Chancellor.

CHAPTER V.

Gratuities to the wounded Guards at Sedgemore—Reviews and Sham Fight—Augmentation of the Army—The King courts Popularity with the Troops—His Attempts to restore Popery—Protestant Officers superseded by Catholics—Opposition of the Scotch and English Troops—The Prince of Orange invited to England—His Arrival—Vacillating Conduct of King James—He is deserted by all his Courtiers—Fidelity of the Guards—James escapes to France—Coronation of William and Mary—James acknowledged King in Ireland—William declares War against France—The Guards sent to Holland—They distinguish themselves at the Battle of Walcourt—William goes to Ireland with Life Guards—Battle of the Boyne—Siege of Limerick—Battle of Aughrim.

THE rebellion being thus suppressed, and the country in a state of profound peace, liberal gratuities were granted to the officers and men who had been wounded at the battle of Sedgemore. These allowances, as far as the Guards are concerned, we here subjoin, that such of our readers as may be curious in these matters may compare them with the allowances granted at the present day on similar occasions :—

	£	s.	d.
To 36 gentlemen of the troops of Horse and Grenadier Guards	417	10	0
To 1 admitted into Chelsea Hospital	16	0	0
To 1 trumpeter and 14 privates Oxford Blues	220	5	0
To 1 captain (lieutenant-colonel) First Foot Guards	100	0	0
To 2 lieutenants (captains) ditto	60	0	0
To 1 lieutenant £40. To 1 ditto £80	120	0	0
To 1 ensign £50, 1 ensign £30, 1 volunteer £30	110	0	0
To 1 serjeant, 3 corporals, 2 drummers, and 46 privates	208	5	0
To 12 men admitted into Chelsea Hospital	16	0	0
To 2 serjeants and 3 privates Coldstream	27	0	0
To 3 men sent to Chelsea Hospital, £6 13s. 4d. each	20	0	0*

In this and the following year the King frequently reviewed his Household Troops and others; and encampments were made on Hounslow Heath, where they were exercised in sham-fights and other military manœuvres; forts being erected, besieged, and taken, for the sake of practice. These encampments were continued on Hounslow Heath every summer for several years after; for this weak and deluded monarch was resolved to imitate one or two princes of Europe who had just before rendered themselves absolute, and, in an evil hour, he was persuaded to believe that if he could win the army to his side, he would be sure to attain his object. With this idea, he not only proceeded to increase the number of his troops, but, by virtue of his dispensing power, to officer his regiments, as far as he prudently might, with Roman Catholics.

The invasion of the Duke of Monmouth had occasioned a considerable augmentation of the regular army, and amongst other troops embodied on that occasion were nine regiments of Cuirassiers. One of these was now discontinued, but a selection made from its officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, to constitute a fourth troop of the Life Guards, whose establishment on the 1st of July was fifty-eight officers, and one thousand and fifty-two non-commissioned officers and private gentlemen.

* War-office Records.

At this period the Life Guards could bring into the field a thousand mounted men ; and whether viewed as a corps of Guards, or as a brigade of Cuirassiers, it was allowed to be one of the finest bodies of heavy cavalry in Europe : the clothing and appointments of the officers and men were of the most splendid description.

In 1687 the rank of lieutenant-colonel was granted to captains of companies in the two regiments of Foot Guards. In the summer of that year, detachments of Life Guards accompanied the King in a progress through a part of his dominions, when his Majesty visited most of the principal seaports, harbours, and fortifications, reviewing and courting popularity with the troops in garrison. After his return, the King accepted the invitation of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and on the 29th of October proceeded in state, with an escort of Life Guards, to a festival at Guildhall. On this occasion the King was accompanied by a nuncio from the Pope, who appeared in full pontificals, preceded by a cross-bearer, and followed by a flock of priests and monks in the habits of their respective orders, which gave great offence to the zealous Protestants of the three kingdoms.

This, however, did not check the open attempt of James to establish Popery and arbitrary power. Finding the Parliament an obstacle to his designs, he dismissed it, and never called another. He then promoted Papists to the highest offices in the State ; sent an ambassador to Rome ; filled the official situations in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge with Roman Catholics ; and seven of the bishops having remonstrated against these proceedings, he ordered them to be imprisoned in the Tower and prosecuted for sedition : they were, however, acquitted, to the manifest joy of the whole country. His zeal at last outstripped the wishes of the Pope himself, who was sensible that the King was openly striking at those laws and opinions which it was his business to undermine with silence and security ; and even the cardinals facetiously declared that "the King should be excommunicated for

thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of Popery that yet subsisted in England."

The year 1688 begins an important era in the history of England, the political events of which we can but slightly touch on in a work of this description. The nation was in a state of great excitement. The Court was crowded with Popish priests, and the King continued to go openly to mass, attended by his Guards and the officers of his Court. Protestant officers of firm principles were dismissed from the army, and from posts of trust and responsibility in the State; their places being filled by Papists or Protestants of less scrupulous principles, although the Papists were disqualified by law. The King had more than doubled the numbers of his army; many Protestant soldiers had been discharged, and orders were given for the different corps to be recruited with Popish recusants.

James found no difficulty in placing that portion of the army which occupied Ireland almost entirely under the command of Papists; but the English and Scotch regiments were not so pliable, and he was soon furnished with proof that there are limits even to military obedience. Supposing that the example of one would influence the whole, he ordered a regiment to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against his proceedings should lay down their arms, and the remainder shout their applause: he had the mortification to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except a few Roman Catholic soldiers. It is said that he even stooped to solicit his officers for their adhesion to his favourite religion; and that a rough soldier one day answered his remonstrances by saying that he was pre-engaged; for he had promised the King of Morocco, when quartered at Tangiers, that should he ever change his religion he would turn Mahometan.

In the midst of these dangers, when the King appeared to be proceeding in a determined course to break down the barriers of the constitution, William of Nassau, the

son of William, Prince of Orange, and of Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I., conceived the design of acquiring the English crown. Besides being thus closely allied to the reigning family by blood, he had married the Princess Mary, James's daughter. The conduct of this prince had always been prudent, his understanding was sound, and he was celebrated for personal courage and military achievements. Under these circumstances, an association was formed by many lords, spiritual and temporal, and by many officers and other gentlemen, to bring over the Prince with a Dutch force, to enable them to oppose the proceedings of the King ; and his Highness agreed to comply with their wishes.

Alarmed at the news of the military preparations in Holland, the King, still depending upon his army for support, again augmented the strength of the different regiments, and added ten Horse Grenadiers to the establishment of each troop of Life Guards. The Scots troop of Life Guards was also augmented twenty men, ordered to march into England, and placed on the English establishment, with an increased rate of pay. The total strength of the Life Guards at this period was twelve hundred and eighty-six, including all ranks ; of the First Regiment of Foot Guards (two battalions), one thousand and forty ; the Coldstream, five hundred and twenty ; and the Scots Fusiliers, six hundred and forty. Four additional companies were placed on the establishment of the Coldstream from the 1st of September, 1688, including a second Grenadier company.

The Prince of Orange, at the head of 14,000 men, landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, and marched to Exeter, where he was joined by many of the nobility, gentry, and officers of the King's army, with small detachments from several regiments ; Viscount Colchester, and several private men of the fourth troop of Life Guards, being among the first who joined his Highness.

King James, whose conduct through the whole of this critical period was timid, wavering, and uncertain, first

ordered his forces to assemble at Salisbury, under the Earl of Feversham, and sent two troops of Life Guards forward immediately : another troop was despatched in charge of the train of artillery, and the remaining troop attended the King, who arrived at Salisbury on the 19th of November. On the 20th there was a skirmish at Wincanton, between part of the fourth troop of Life Guards and some troops of the Prince of Orange. At a council of war held on the 22nd, it was resolved that the army should retire and take up a position near the metropolis. On the same night, the Duke of Grafton, one of Charles's natural children, and Lord Churchill, who owed his rise in life and everything he possessed to James's favour, left the King and went over to the Prince of Orange. Alarmed at these desertions, James, escorted by a troop of Life Guards, returned to London, where he had the further mortification of finding himself deserted by Prince George of Denmark and his favourite daughter, the Princess Anne, which wrung from the unhappy monarch the pathetic exclamation, "God help me! my own children have forsaken me!"*

James, after some vacillation, being actually driven to despair, made no further resistance, though the Guards, with a few exceptions, still professed their fidelity to their sovereign. After ordering the Great Seal to be thrown into the Thames, he wrote a letter to the Earl of Feversham, in which he stated his determination to quit the kingdom, and directed the army to be disbanded. He then departed for France; and as soon as his departure was publicly known, the Duke of Northumberland, with the Life Guards then in London, declared for the Prince of Orange.

On hearing that the troops had been disbanded, the

* "They had supped with the King the same evening. Prince George left a letter for James excusing his own conduct, and blaming the unhappy monarch. This prince had been accustomed, when he heard of the defection of any of those who had been obliged to the King, to say '*Est-il possible?*' The only remark James made upon the Prince's flight was, '*Is Est-il possible gone too?*'"—*Diary of Earl of Clarendon.*

Prince of Orange ordered them to be called together again, and proceeded to London, whither James had also returned, the vessel in which he was embarked having been detained at Feversham. He was ordered by William to retire to Rochester, and was allowed without molestation to embark for France, where he was received with great hospitality by Louis XIV.

On the 22nd of January, 1689, the Parliament met ; when a vote was passed, that King James, by endeavouring to subvert the constitution, had abdicated the throne, which was thereby vacant. It was then agreed that the Prince and Princess of Orange should reign jointly ; and the coronation of their Majesties took place on the 23rd of April, when the Life Guards were posted at their usual station, on the side of the platform, between Westminster Hall and the entrance of the Abbey.

His Majesty having brought with him a troop of Dutch Life Guards, it was placed upon English pay, and incorporated with the English Guards, in place of the fourth troop, which was disbanded. The corps was preserved in its original splendour ; the Dutch troops being mounted on grey horses, and the English on black.

But the late King still entertained some hopes of regaining the British throne. The Catholics of Ireland in his interest far outnumbered the Protestants, and the Earl of Tyrconnel had modelled an army there to maintain the Popish interest. Assisted by the French monarch with men, money, and a fleet, King James landed at Kinsale, on the 22nd of March, 1689, and soon after made his public entry into Dublin, when nearly the whole of Ireland acknowledged his authority.

In consequence of the assistance given by the French King to King James, and other causes, King William III. declared war against France ; and, still retaining his interest in Holland, he succeeded in forming an alliance with several States against the French monarch. On the 19th of March, both battalions of the Coldstream, with other regiments, embarked for Helvoetsluys, to replace the

Dutch corps retained by King William in England. The second troop of Life Guards, and Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, accompanied this expedition, and served in the campaign of this year under Prince Waldeck.

The Coldstream, Life Guards, Oxford Blues, and other regiments from England, assembled on the Sambre, under Marlborough. The allied army was commanded by Prince Waldeck. The Prussians and northern contingents of Germany, headed by the Elector of Brandenburg, were to attack Bonn ; and the Duke of Lorraine, at the head of the Imperialists, was to manœuvre on the Upper Rhine. The Spaniards, who acted separately, advanced to Courtrai, and levelled the lines constructed by the French : they also raised contributions in different parts of the country.

The corps of Prince Waldeck was opposed by the troops under Marshal d'Humieres, who unexpectedly attacked fifteen hundred of his foragers. The contending armies were only separated by the small walled town of Walcourt, in possession of the allies, and about a mile in front of their camp. The French marshal ordered Walcourt to be carried by assault. Prince Waldeck succeeded in planting some guns on a hill that commanded the place, and brought up a body of cavalry and infantry to oppose the enemy, posted under cover of a battery they had raised against Walcourt. During the heat of the conflict, the Earl of Marlborough sent forward the Coldstream Guards, with a German regiment, to force their way to the relief of the town, which they effected in the most gallant manner ; then placing himself at the head of the Life Guards and Oxford Blues, he charged the enemy with these formidable squadrons, and drove them from the field in great disorder, with the loss of about two thousand men killed and wounded. The French Guards were almost destroyed, while the loss in the corps of Prince Waldeck did not exceed forty men and two officers.*

* London Gazette, September 2, 1683.

In October the English regiments went into winter-quarters at Ghent ; while the army under Marshal d'Humières broke up and distributed itself in various garrisons.

Meanwhile, William, having determined to command the forces in Ireland in person, had, in 1689, increased the number of troops in that country to upwards of thirty-thousand men, and ordered the first, third, and fourth troops of his Life Guards, and Royal Horse Guards (Blues), to attend him during the campaign. The second troop was directed to return from Holland, and, with the Scots troop, to form a guard for the Queen in England. The Life Guards, with their Grenadiers and Oxford Blues, embarked at Highlake, in Cheshire, in the beginning of June, 1690, for Ireland.* On the 14th, the King, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and many other persons of distinction, landed at Carrickfergus, and, advancing towards the Boyne, encamped on the 30th of June within cannon-shot of the enemy, who were in position on the other side of the river, where they had raised breastworks, and made preparations to dispute the passage.

As King William was reconnoitring the enemy's position, he was exposed to the fire of two field-pieces : the first shot killed one of his Majesty's Guard and two horses ; while the second ball, rebounding from the earth, grazed the King's right shoulder, and carried off part of his clothes and skin. His Majesty took little notice of it, but rode on about forty yards farther, and then returned the same way, still exposed to the enemy's cannon, which killed two more of the Life Guards, and several men and horses of other corps. The horse received orders to withdraw behind a rising ground, and dispositions were made for crossing the Boyne and forcing the enemy's position on the following morning. After riding through the army

* A Dutch regiment of Horse Guards, which had accompanied King William from Holland, embarked at the same time with the Royal Horse Guards, and both regiments arrived in the camp at Loughbrickland within a few days of each other, when, by way of distinction from its Dutch rival, whose uniform was also blue, the name "Oxford Blues" was then first given to the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, which it has ever since retained.



BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

by torchlight, and ordering the soldiers to wear green boughs in their hats on the following day, the King retired to his tent. The Life Guards on this occasion were commanded by the Duke of Ormond ; and the Horse Grenadier Guards formed one squadron, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. George Cholmondely.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 1st of July, 1690, the infantry of the right wing, under Lieutenant-General Douglas, and the cavalry, under Count de Schomberg, marched towards Slane Bridge, and passed the river at the fords between the King's camp and that place with little opposition. The Irish quitted their position behind a morass without waiting for the assault, and retreated towards Duleek ; but their rear was overtaken by the cavalry, and some sharp fighting took place.

The main body passed the river under a discharge of artillery, and received the fire of a party of Irish musketeers posted along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for their defence. A few squadrons of the Dutch Blue Guards having gained the shore, put the Irish to flight, and some battalions passed the stream without further opposition ; but before these could form, they were charged by a squadron of horse, and a considerable body of Irish cavalry and infantry advanced from behind the hills. The enemy's infantry, however, fled without making an attack ; but the horse charged, and put the unformed battalions into some confusion. The Duke of Schomberg being beset by a party of Irish horse, which had broken through one of his regiments, the infantry he was leading fired a volley at the Irish cavalry ; and on this occasion the Duke was mortally wounded.

The infantry of King James rallied, and were ready to attack the centre, when King William passed the river with the Life Guards and left wing. The enemy made a sudden halt, and retreated to the village of Donore, where they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the King in person, recoiled, and the Inniskilliners gave way. A party of

Dragoons dismounted, and lined the hedges on each side of the defile through which the horse retired, and their fire did such execution upon the Irish as soon checked their ardour. The Dutch, Danish, and Inniskillin horse rallied, and drove the enemy before them in their turn. King William was seen in the hottest part of the field. One of his own troopers, mistaking him for an enemy, presented a pistol at his head, which he calmly put aside, saying, "What, do you not know your friend?" Encouraged by his Majesty's presence and example, his soldiers drove the Irish from the field in confusion; but the French and Swiss retreated in good order. The English horse pursued the enemy for some miles, and then returned; and the whole encamped at Duleek.

James was not in the battle, but stood aloof, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and at intervals was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own troops repulsing the enemy, "Oh, spare my English subjects!" James fled, regardless of the safety of his soldiers, who deeply resented his pusillanimous conduct, to which they attributed their defeat; and O'Regan, an old Irish captain, was heard to say upon this occasion that, if the English would exchange generals, the beaten army would fight the battle over again.

James fled again to France, and William advanced to Dublin, where, on the 7th and 8th of July, he reviewed and mustered his troops. The number of private gentlemen of the English Life Guards present at this review was two hundred and seventy-three, and of Horse Grenadier Guards ninety-five; from which it is presumed that their loss at the battle of the Boyne must have been considerable, the establishment of the two troops being—Life Guards, four hundred private troopers, and one hundred and twenty Grenadiers.

Hostilities did not terminate in Ireland until 1691; but as the Life Guards had returned to England soon after the battle of the Boyne, their history has no connexion with the subsequent military operations in that country.

This, however, does not apply to the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, or Oxford Blues, which bore a distinguished part in the remaining events of the Irish war, and especially at the battle of Aughrim.

Limerick was besieged by King William in person, but was ably defended by the Irish troops. On the 27th of August, 1690, a breach having been made, the King attempted to carry the place by assault ; but the defence was desperate, and the British troops were compelled to retire. Chagrined at this failure, William raised the siege in disgust on the 30th, and shortly after returned to England. Some movements and skirmishes of minor importance took place subsequently between the contending parties, till the month of June, 1691, when the Irish troops, under the French general St. Ruth, occupied a strong position near Aughrim, in the county of Galway, where they awaited the approach of the English.

The army of King William having been strongly reinforced, advanced under General de Ginckell to within three miles of the Irish army, whose left stretched towards Kilconnel Abbey, their right resting on the hill of Kilcommodon. A rivulet ran on their left, with steep hills and little bogs on each side ; near to which was a large bog, almost a mile across ; at the end of which stood the castle of Aughrim, commanding the way that led to their camp, and passable for horse nowhere but just at the castle.

This bog extended itself along the front to the right, where there was another pass, called Urachree, having a rising ground on each side of it ; and the Irish camp lay along the ridge of a hill, on one side of which stood two old Danish forts,* about half a mile distant from the bog below, the space between being cut into many small inclosures, from behind which the Irish musketeers were enabled to fire with great advantage.

On the morning of the 12th of June, 1691, the whole of the English army had passed the river Suck by eleven o'clock ; the horse by two fords, and the foot artillery

* Conical-shaped hills, so called in Ireland.

over a bridge, in as good order as the ground would permit ; and the general, having reconnoitred the enemy's position, determined, if possible, to force them from the pass of Urachree. For this service he detached the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, a squadron of Cunningham's Dragoons, and the regiment of the Earl of Portland. The Irish, seeing them advance, and that but a small part of the army was yet come up, sent some foot and horse through the bog ; upon which the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards dismounted and repulsed them.

The enemy now detached several battalions and squadrons to support their men ; but the English being also reinforced, they were compelled to retire to their main body. The cannon, in the mean time, had dislodged the advanced guard of the Irish at the end of the defile that leads to Aughrim, and the right wing of the British horse and foot was posted there. It was now two o'clock, and De Ginckell being unwilling to risk his men in the attempt to force so strong a position, some hesitation took place on the part of the English ; but the battle was renewed at five, when, for an hour and a half, the attack was continued against the pass of Urachree, which was well defended by the Irish, aided by the strength of their entrenchments and the natural difficulties of the ground. At length the English commander observing that the enemy were hard pressed on the right and left, ordered his infantry to pass the bog, and, supported by his cannon, to attack the centre. They were at first driven back into the bog, but, being reinforced, recovered their ground, and succeeded in maintaining themselves till the horse were able to come to their support.

Meanwhile, the French Dragoons of the Marquis de Rovigny,* and the English of Sir John Lanier, advanced with great gallantry along the pass that led by the castle of Aughrim, which, as well as the hedges and walls about

* This was a regiment of French Protestants, in the service of King William. At the conclusion of the Irish war, their commander, the Marquis, was created Earl of Galway, afterwards distinguished in the war in Spain.

it, was lined with musketeers. They were supported by General Kirke's and Colonel Hamilton's foot, who, after a sharp fusilade, succeeded in making a lodgment in a dry ditch beyond the bog. St. Ruth, on seeing the English horse scrambling over at a place where only two could pass abreast, within twenty yards of the castle, could not restrain his astonishment, and exclaimed, with an oath, "They are brave fellows! 'Tis a pity they should be so much exposed!"

At length, the horse, though with much difficulty, forced the pass. Sir Francis Compton, with the Oxford Blues, being the first in a posture to engage, fell in at random amongst the enemy, and charged them briskly; and, though once or twice repulsed, being supported by the rest of the cavalry, they galloped along the edge of the bog, and routed the enemy from their entrenchments. The Irish were now everywhere giving way; and St. Ruth, having put himself at the head of his reserve, to retrieve, if possible, the fortune of the day, was killed by a cannon-shot as he descended Kilconimodon Hill. The death of the commander terminated the struggle; for his French Guards immediately retreated with his body, and the remainder of his troops, throwing down their arms, fled in confusion to Limerick.

General de Ginckell, for many years after, bore testimony to the gallantry of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards in this action, and, when complimented on the skill and courage he had shown at the battle of Aughrim, modestly declared that the honour of that great day was principally owing to the conduct and bravery of the Oxford Blues, and the French cavalry under the Marquis de Rovigny.

The well-known treaty of Limerick, granting indemnity to the Roman Catholics, which took place on the 25th of September, terminated the Irish war; and the Oxford Blues returned to England in the month of March, the year following.

CHAPTER VI.

Hostilities on the Continent—Privileges conferred on the Guards—Namur surrenders to the French—Great Naval Victory of La Hogue—Battle of Steenkirk—Gallantry of the Guards and Royals—Death of Sir Robert Douglas—Retreat covered by the Guards—Battle of Landen—Critical Charge of the Life Guards—Narrow Escape of King William—Siege of Namur by the English—Gallant Assault of the Guards—Character of Lord Cutts—The Town surrenders—Bombardment of the Castle—Assault of the Castle—Success of the Guards—The Castle surrenders—Arrest of Marshal Boufflers.

THE conquest of Ireland being completed by the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, and the surrender of Limerick, King William, with a view of preventing the aggrandisement of France by conquest, attended a solemn congress of the confederate princes at the Hague, in January, 1691, at which it was resolved to employ two hundred and twenty-two thousand men in the ensuing campaign. British troops were accordingly sent to Holland, and, amongst others, the third and fourth troops of Life Guards.*

In the beginning of June, 1691, the King placed himself at the head of the confederate army in the Netherlands, amounting to fifty-six thousand men. The Life Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards formed three squadrons, under the command of the Duke of Ormond : the English Foot Guards consisted of the second battalion of the First, the first battalion of the Coldstream, and both battalions of the Scots Fusilier Guards. The confederates outnumbered the French ; but the vigilance of Marshal Luxemburg was such, that William was unable to bring

* The present First Foot, or Royals, was also ordered on this service, but mutinied, refused to embark, and marched off with their arms and four guns from Ipswich, intending to make their way to Scotland. King William ordered General Ginckel to follow, with three Dutch regiments of cavalry, and the English horse regiments of Sir John Lanier and Colonel Langston, who forced the mutinous regiment to surrender at discretion. The Royals were not punished as rebels, the new Government being as yet unacknowledged in Scotland. Their revolt is said to have been the origin of the celebrated Bill for the due regulation of the army, now well known by the name of the Mutiny Act.



on a general action. Twice the armies confronted each other ; but they were so situated that neither could begin the attack without manifest disadvantage, and, with the exception of some skirmishing between the advanced posts, the campaign was passed in a scientific display of military tactics.*

On the last of these occasions, the confederates, having passed the Sambre, arrived on the plain of Gerpynes, where they formed in order of battle, their front being covered by the wood of Florennes, which alone separated them from the French. It was at this camp, in sight of the enemy, and on the eve of an expected battle, that the lieutenants of the First and Coldstream Guards were given the rank of captains ; and the rank of lieutenant-colonel was now first granted by King William to the captains of the Scots Fusilier Guards.

King William having left the camp for Loo in September, the confederate army, under Prince Waldeck, advanced towards the plains of Chambron ; and when part of the army had passed the little river and defile near Catoir, the Duke of Luxemburg, having made a rapid advance with fifty-five squadrons of cavalry, suddenly attacked the rear-guard of the confederates with great fury. Count de Tilly, who commanded the rear, received the shock with bravery, but was soon overpowered. Generals d'Auverquerque and Opdam brought back part of the troops which had passed the rivulet, and, forming a second line, enabled Count de Tilly to rally his men. Two battalions were also posted behind the hedges adjoining the defile, and their fire produced effect in the ranks of the enemy ; but so determined was the onset of the French, that the second line also gave way, when the confederate cavalry, led on by the Life Guards, charged and drove the enemy back in disorder.

During the heat of this action, a private of the English

* The Landgrave of Hesse joined the Confederate army at this time with his forces, attended with a proportionable train of artillery, all drawn by white oxen, which made a fine show upon a march.—*D'Auvergne's Campaigns in Flanders, 1691.*

Life Guards, having penetrated through the first ranks of the enemy, perceived, at a short distance, Marshal Luxemburg, attended by ten or twelve of his staff : the Life Guardsman, with his pistol in his hand, rushed up to the marshal with intent to shoot him ; but his life was preserved by the interposition of his attendants, who killed the Life Guardsman.

In a short time after this encounter, both armies retired into winter-quarters, and his Majesty proceeded to England.

Early in the spring, Louis XIV., with that activity to which in a great measure may be attributed the first successes of his arms, moved his troops towards Flanders, and concentrating his army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, round Mons, he took the command in person.

William was equally early in the field ; he resumed the command of the confederate army in April, and was followed to Holland by the first troop of Life Guards. The French having invested Namur, King William put his army in motion, with a view of raising the siege. The Life Guards brought six hundred mounted men into the field, and formed four fine squadrons, commanded by the brave Duke of Ormond ; the Coldstream was commanded by Colonel Bridgeman, and the First Regiment of Foot Guards by Colonel Warcop. The Scots Fusiliers were also in the field.

On the advance of his Majesty, the Duke of Luxemburg, who covered the operations against Namur, with an army of 70,000 men, marched towards the Mehaine. On the 8th of June the two armies were in sight of each other, the river only remaining between them. His Majesty resolved to cross the river and attack the enemy, but was prevented by heavy rains ; and, during this delay, the governor of Namur delivered up the town and retired into the castle, which he surrendered on the 30th of June. After several movements, the confederate army passed the little river Senner and encamped in front of Halle ; the

Life Guards pitching their tents near the castle of Lembeck, where the King had his quarters.

Fortunately for the honour of England, during these slow proceedings, her hardy tars gained one of the greatest naval victories on record over the French ; and which, though unconnected with the subject of this little volume, we cannot forbear slightly touching upon.

After the signal failure of James in Ireland, the French King promised to make a descent upon England in his favour ; and an army, consisting of French troops, with English, Irish, and Scotch refugees, was assembled for that purpose between Cherburg and La Hogue. King James commanded it in person, and more than 300 transports were provided for landing it on the English shore ; while Admiral Tourville, with sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favour the descent.

These preparations on the part of France were soon known at the Court of England, and precautions were taken for a vigorous opposition. Admiral Russell was ordered to put to sea with all possible despatch ; and he soon appeared with ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. These immense fleets met at La Hogue on the 19th of May, 1692, when, after an action of ten hours, the English gained a glorious and decisive victory. Fifteen French men-of-war were destroyed ; and the blow was so decisive, that for many years after France seemed to relinquish her claims to the ocean.

As if inspired by this splendid victory, King William resolved at last to attack Marshal Luxemburg, who was encamped on most advantageous ground, with his right on Steenkirk, his left at Enghien, and his head-quarters at Hove.

The King having reviewed his troops, which included the Life Guards, the Grenadier Guards, Coldstream and Scots Fusilier Guards, preparations were made for attacking the enemy ; and early on the morning of the 3rd of August, 1692, the confederate army was put in motion. After passing several defiles and other obstructions, the

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leading column, commanded by the Prince of Wurtemberg, attacked the enemy, gained possession of a wood in front of the right wing, and erected two batteries on little eminences on the right and left of the wood. Under cover of the fire of these batteries, the confederate troops marched to the head of the defiles, where a small plain opened in their front. The English Life Guards, horse and Dragoons of the right wing, with the First Foot Guards, Coldstream, Royal Scots, and the regiments of Fitzpatrick and O'Farrell, were ordered to proceed to the right skirt of the wood : three other corps of infantry, with the horse of the left wing, were posted upon the outside of the wood. About eleven o'clock the signal-gun was fired, when, with a loud hurrah, the British regiments pushed forward, and in five minutes the woods rang with an incessant peal of musketry.

The advanced column, supported by the infantry regiments, attacked the enemy, drove him from three several hedges to the fourth, where the fire was kept up muzzle to muzzle. The First Guards gallantly dislodged the enemy from one of their batteries, and captured seven pieces of cannon. All the troops engaged acquitted themselves with great heroism. The Royal Scots, in the eagerness of their attack on the fourth hedge, from behind which the French poured a continued stream of musketry, became broken, and for a moment recoiled. At this crisis their brave commander, Colonel Sir Robert Douglas, saw that one of the three standards which his regiment bore had fallen into the enemy's hands. He sprang over the hedge, cut down a French officer who was waving the trophy above his head, and threw it back among his own men, who received it with a shout. But, alas ! the noble act cost him his life ; for, as he was leaping back again, a French *tirailleur* took aim at him, and he fell forward, dead, amongst his own men.

Unfortunately, this gallant and successful attack was not seconded and supported by the main body of the infantry, which, at the commencement of the action, was

one mile in the rear. William, however, exerted himself to bring them up to deploy ; but, from the anxiety of his soldiers, confusion ensued : they were unable to form soon enough to support the vanguard, and the left wing, overpowered by numbers, retreated in disorder. William, as the troops arrived, formed line on the open ground, opposite to which the enemy planted ten pieces in battery. Several guns were then brought forward by the confederates, and a heavy cannonade was kept up for a considerable time, during which the Coldstream lost several men.

Independent of this delay in supporting the advance, the ground was so confined, and the enemy's troops so sheltered by hedges, ditches, and copses, that the cavalry could not act. The English Life Guards and other cavalry, on the right of the wood, maintained their ground for some time. The squadron of Horse Grenadier Guards dismounted and charged on foot with signal gallantry, and its commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmondeley, was wounded ; but the other troops having given way, the Life Guards were compelled to retire ; and Luxemburg being reinforced by Boufflers, who arrived at the critical moment with fresh troops, including a large body of cavalry, William was induced to order a retreat, which was conducted with such skill that, notwithstanding the enemy followed at a short distance, the allies retired unmolested to their own camp. This operation was covered by the Horse Grenadier Guards, who, when pressed by the enemy's advance, faced about, and compelled the French to halt ; the Grenadiers then resumed their march, and in this manner the confederates reached their ground at Halle.

The result of this battle to the English was the loss of two standards and several guns, with two thousand killed and three thousand wounded. The French also suffered severely, having lost three thousand men, including the Prince of Turenne and many officers of high rank. The advantage of the campaign was, on the whole, in favour

of the allies, who were enabled by it to keep the French in check.

Both armies remained quietly in their quarters during the winter ; but it was conjectured that the enemy would take the field early in the spring, and open the campaign with the siege of Charleroi. Great preparations were made by Louis XIV. ; and King William was no less active in his, having arrived at the Hague about the end of March. The French armies formed a junction near Gembloux, and exceeded the confederates by about one-half ; while William possessed himself of the camp at Parck, near Louvain, to prevent the designs of the French King on Brabant. The total amount of the allied army at this time was sixty thousand eight hundred and fifty, including three squadrons of the Life Guards, with the First Regiment of Foot Guards, two battalions ; the Coldstream, one battalion, and the Scots Fusiliers ; two battalions.

King William advanced nearer to Liege ; but when he reached Tongres, he learnt that the garrison of Huy had capitulated to the French. His Majesty sent ten battalions to reinforce the garrison of Liege, and returned to Neer-Hespen, in South Brabant. The confederates being much weakened by detachments, the Duke of Luxemburg, who exceeded them in numbers by thirty-five thousand men, marched against the King's camp.

At sunrise on the morning of the 19th of July, 1693, the enemy's troops were drawn up in order of battle, and about eight they attacked the villages of Laer and Neer-Winden, where the Foot Guards were stationed, with great fury. Twice they gained these posts, and twice they were repulsed ; and the Duke of Berwick, who held an appointment in the French army, was, with several other officers, taken prisoner.

The French then attacked the left wing at Neer-Landen, and, after a most obstinate struggle, were forced to give way. During the early part of the day, the confederates had the advantage at every point of attack ; but the

superior numbers of the enemy enabled him to bring forward fresh troops, and he ultimately gained possession of the village of Neer-Winden. This, however, was not done without considerable loss. The first troop of French Guards, of which Marshal Luxemburg was colonel, lost their standard, which was taken by a soldier of the Coldstream Guards. The Scots Fusiliers suffered very much in this action.

Laer and Neer-Winden being taken, the camp was immediately filled with French troops. The Hanoverian, Spanish, Bavarian, and Dutch horse were broken while endeavouring to check the enemy, upon which King William brought forward his Life Guards and the English horse to their assistance. The position was already forced, and the French cavalry were crowding onward to complete the victory, when the Life Guards dashed forward to meet the conquering foe with signal gallantry, and the fury of their charge, with the valour and power with which these distinguished horsemen fought, excited his Majesty's admiration; they were nobly seconded by the remainder of the English cavalry, and their prowess retarded the fate of the day. The Duke of Ormond, colonel of the second troop of Life Guards, "fought amongst the thickest of the enemy, with an incomparable bravery, such as became the son of the great Ossory, and the heir of the virtues as well as the wealth of a family of heroes. As he was engaged amidst a crowd of enemies, his horse was shot under him, and he was severely wounded and taken prisoner."*

Notwithstanding this display of valour, superior numbers prevailed. King William, perceiving no chance of wresting the victory from the enemy, commanded a retreat; but his Majesty remained so long in the field, that he was nearly surrounded by French troops, and was in great danger of being taken prisoner, when Lieutenant the Hon. Hatton Compton suddenly brought part of the third troop of Life Guards to the King's rescue, and by

* D'Auvergne's Campaigns in Flanders, 1693.

a gallant charge drove back the enemy, and held them in check until his Majesty retired ; for which service he was immediately promoted to the rank of colonel.*

In this action the allies lost ten thousand men, and the French upwards of fifteen thousand, which disabled them from pursuing their success. The remainder of the campaign was occupied in movements on both sides undistinguished by anything but the taking of Charleroi by the French.

In October, 1693, the Horse Grenadier Guards attached to the three English troops of Life Guards were embodied into *one troop*, of which Colonel George Cholmondeley was appointed captain and colonel. The troop of Horse Grenadier Guards continued to form a part of his Majesty's Life Guards, and to take a share in the duties performed by that corps.

Early in the spring of 1694, reinforcements were sent from England ; and on the 14th of April, the second troop of Life Guards, and other troops, with a train of artillery, embarked on the Thames and sailed for the Netherlands. About the middle of May, King William arrived in Holland ; and on the 3rd of June his Majesty placed himself at the head of the army. The corps of Life and Horse Grenadier Guards brought eight hundred officers and men into the field ; and the splendid and warlike appearance of this powerful body of cuirassiers excited admiration.

The summer was passed in manœuvring, and nothing occurred worth notice during the campaign of 1694 but the surrender of Huy to the English, and the accidental destruction by fire of the straw-huts of the Coldstream encampment, which sent that distinguished corps into winter-quarters as early as the 1st of October. The First Guards and Coldstream were quartered in Ghent during the winter, and the Scots Fusilier Guards at Bruges.

* "The King narrowly missed three musket-shots ; one through his periwig, which made him deaf for a while ; another through the sleeve of his coat, which did no harm ; the third carried off the knot of his scarf, and left a small contusion on his side."—*D'Auvergne's Campaigns in Flanders*, 1693.

The death of Queen Mary, which took place on the 28th of December, 1694, did not prevent King William from taking the field in person in the spring of the following year. His Majesty arrived in Holland early in May, 1695, and was escorted to the camp at Arseele, on the 28th of May, by the second troop of Life Guards. Marshal Luxemburg having died in January, the command of the French army in Flanders was given to Marshal Villeroy.

King William, having by various movements drawn the enemy's force to the Flanders side of their fortified lines, commanded the Earl of Athlone to invest Namur with the cavalry under his orders. His Majesty left the camp at Rouselaer on the morning of the 19th of June, taking with him the second and fourth troops of Life Guards and the Horse Grenadier Guards, and on the 22nd arrived before the important fortress of Namur, to superintend the operations in person.

On the 1st of July, the Dutch broke ground near the village of Bouge; and on the evening of the 8th, an assault was made on the covered way in possession of the enemy, near the hill of Bouge. Major-General Ramsay advanced with two battalions of the First Guards, the first battalion of the Coldstream, and the first of the Scots Fusiliers, besides other troops. The Guards marched under a heavy fire, without making any return till they put their pieces through the palisades, and, after a short contest, took possession of them. The troops, flushed with success, rushed furiously forward, attacked the second covered way, which they also gained, and followed the enemy among the batteries on the brow of the hill. Many of the French sought refuge in the stone-pits, and concealed themselves from the fury of the soldiers. In this splendid commencement, the brigade of Guards lost one hundred and seventy-seven killed, three hundred and sixty wounded, and forty-one prisoners. The total loss of the British and Dutch amounted to five hundred killed and twelve hundred wounded. King William, in

a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, thus speaks of the affair: "All the troops displayed considerable courage, and particularly the five battalions of Guards who attacked on the right."

On the 14th, the troops in the trenches were relieved by the brigade of Guards, commanded by Lord Cutts, appointed Brigadier of the Guards. This was a gallant young officer, who subsequently signalised himself on many occasions, particularly at the taking of Buda by the imperialists, as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Lorraine. Addison speaks of his conduct at Buda;* and he also distinguished himself at the battle of Blenheim. The motto he selected, "With labour and with blood," sufficiently indicates his pugnacious character; and he obtained the appellation of the "Salamander," from being always found in the thickest of the fire. Swift refers to him in the "Epigram on a Salamander;" and he is said in one of the State poems of those days to be

As brave and brainless as the sword he wears.

This line alludes to an occurrence which took place near Venlo, and is thus mentioned by Burnet.† "There was a fort on the other side of that river, that commanded Venlo, which was taken by Lord Cutts in so gallant a manner, that it deserved to be much commended by everybody but himself; but he lost the honour that was due to many brave actions of his by talking too much of them."

During the night of the 14th, the trenches were extended down the hill to the detached bastion before the gate of St. Nicholas, which was given up on the 16th. Next night the trenches were advanced far enough for an attack on the counterscarp, which was carried by assault on the evening of the 17th, and on the 18th a battery was opened against the half-moon of St. Nicholas.‡ On the evening of the 22nd, Lord Cutts, with the brigade of

* Musæ Anglicanæ.

+ History of His Own Times.

‡ On this day Mr. Godfrey, Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, who had visited head-quarters to make arrangements relative to an advance of money for the payment of the army, was killed by a shot in the trenches, standing near the King.—*D'Auvergne's Campaigns in Flanders, 1695.*

Guards, was again in the trenches. A battery of eighteen pieces of English artillery, which had newly arrived, opened on the bastion of St. Roch, and battered the stonework ; but the enemy being in possession of the covered way on the right, towards the Porte de Fer, it was necessary to extend the lodgment in that direction. The attack was commenced in the evening by the brigade of Guards, under Lord Cutts, and was disputed till a late hour, when the object was ultimately gained.

On the 24th, the English batteries kept up a continual fire on the bastion of St. Roch, to make a practicable breach, as the lodgment in the counterscarp was now of sufficient extent for an assault. Before this took place, however, the white flag was hoisted, and the town was surrendered on terms ; Marshal Boufflers, with seven thousand men, having withdrawn into the castle, after losing five thousand men in defence of the town.

On the 11th of August, one hundred and thirty-six pieces of cannon, and fifty mortars and howitzers, opened on the castle, and continued their fire without intermission. Meanwhile, Marshal Villeroy, whose army was increased by reinforcements to one hundred and nineteen battalions, and two hundred and thirty-five squadrons, resolved to attempt raising the siege of Namur, and took post in the plains of Fleury ; on which William, leaving thirty battalions to carry on the siege of the castle, and six to garrison the town, proceeded to the head-quarters of Prince Vaudemont, who had ninety-seven battalions, and two hundred and thirty-seven squadrons, to oppose the march of Villeroy.

On the 19th of August, it being expected that Villeroy would attack on the following day, the assault on Namur was deferred, but the artillery continued to widen the breach. The attack, however, not being made, the King determined at once to assault the breaches, and the troops were warned accordingly. The Grenadiers of the brigade of Guards were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Evans. Three thousand English, under Lord Cutts, were to attack

the counterscarp and breach of Terra Nova ; and other points were to be attacked by parties of Dutch and Bavarians. A quantity of powder was to be blown up on the old battery, near the Brussels gate, as the signal to attack. The word of battle was "God with us !"

Lord Cutts ordered four sergeants, each with fifteen men, to go on the forlorn hope ; to be followed by the Grenadiers of the brigade of Guards, and these by the rest of the Grenadiers designed for the attack of the breach. Three hundred Grenadiers were to attack the line of communication ; two regiments were to support those that attacked the breach, and two regiments were to remain in reserve.

About noon, on the 20th of August, the English advanced under the enemy's fire to within nine hundred paces of the breach, exposed in front and flank to the guns of the castle. They resolutely pushed on in spite of the galling fire, Colonel Coulthorpe's regiment with drums beating and colours flying. Owing to some mistake, the support being delayed, the troops first engaged were overpowered by numbers. Captain Mitchell, of the Guards, and Colonel Coulthorpe, were killed ; Lord Cutts received a contusion in the head, and many other officers were desperately wounded ; the fire from the defences of the breach falling principally on the English.

Lord Cutts finding, after his wound was dressed, that the assault on the Terra Nova could not be resumed, and observing that the Bavarians had fixed themselves on the extreme point of the cohorn next the Sambre, decided on making good their attack with his whole force. A detachment was accordingly sent to support the Bavarians, which succeeded in driving the French from the covered way, and took possession of one of their batteries, having first turned their own guns upon them. The other attacks were completely successful, and a lodgment of a mile in extent was made along the covered way and entrenchments. On this day the English lost one thousand four hundred killed and wounded.

Marshal Villeroy, finding the confederates too strongly posted to admit of a chance of success, retired without hazarding an engagement: the fire against the castle continued, and preparations were made for another assault, when, on the 1st of September, the besieged beat a parley, and further proceedings were terminated by the surrender of this important fortress, on honourable terms. The loss of the allies, from the commencement of the siege, amounted to twelve thousand men.

On the morning of the 5th of September, the garrison, which from fourteen thousand was reduced to five thousand five hundred, marched out through the breach. While passing through the confederate army, which was drawn up on both sides, Marshal Boufflers was arrested by the commanding officer of the brigade of Life Guards, attended by twelve Guardsmen, as a hostage for the performance of the terms of capitulation of Dixmude and Deynse, which had been surrendered to the French, and the garrisons detained, contrary to the cartel. These garrisons having been sent to Ghent a few days after, the Marshal was set at liberty.

CHAPTER VII.

Improvements in the Discipline and Appointments of the Army—Anecdote of the Bayonet—Dress and Martial Appearance of the Guards—Death of King William—Queen Anne declares War against France—The Foot Guards scattered on Foreign Service in Spain, Portugal, and Flanders—War of the Succession in Spain, under Lord Peterborough—Gallant Attack on Vigo, under the Duke of Ormond—Destruction of the French Fleet, and Capture of the Galleons—Gibraltar taken by the English—Defended by the Guards—Barcelona taken by Peterborough—Siege and gallant Defence of Montjuich by the Guards—Singular Escape from a Shell—Atrocious Instance of Spanish Treachery—Battle of Almanza—Glorious Career of Marlborough—Treaty of Utrecht.

THOUGH the Guards bore a prominent part in the two campaigns in the Low Countries which followed the surrender of Namur, and their services on all occasions were various, arduous, and brilliant, yet no action or event of consequence calls for particular notice; and it would be

a vain and fruitless endeavour to condense within our narrow limits the manœuvres and evolutions in which King William was engaged during that period for the defence of European liberty against French ambition. On the 20th of September, 1697, the Peace of Ryswick was concluded ; the French armies quitted the Spanish territories in the Netherlands, the confederates separated, and the Guards returned to England.

The King, now freed from a foreign war, laid himself out to strengthen his authority at home, and to improve the discipline and efficiency of his troops ; for a standing army was the great delight of this martial monarch. The military force of England may be said to have been moulded and cast into form, and to have become in all essential particulars what it now is, under William the Third ; though changes, of course, have since frequently occurred in the armament, the clothing, and the drill of the men.

For example, the bayonet, which in James's reign was worn only by Grenadiers, came into general use both with foot and Dragoons during the progress of William's wars in the Low Countries ; by a subsequent improvement, instead of being screwed into the firelock, as at first, it was fastened with rings, and finally with a socket, so as to leave the muzzle clear for firing.

This material improvement was suggested by the following incident, related by Grose : *—" In one of the campaigns of King William the Third, in Flanders, in an engagement, the name of which my informant has forgotten, there were three French regiments whose bayonets were made to fix after the present fashion ; one of them advanced against the Twenty-fifth Regiment with fixed bayonets. Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, who commanded it, ordered his men to screw their bayonets into their muzzles to receive them ; but, to his great surprise, when they came within a proper distance, the French threw in a heavy fire, which for a moment staggered his people,

* Military Antiquities.

who by no means expected such a greeting, not conscious how it was possible to fire with fixed bayonets. They nevertheless recovered themselves, charged, and drove the enemy out of the line."

It was about this time, also, that the bandalier gave way to the cartouch-box, cartridges having been invented not long previously, and proving far more convenient to the soldier than his charger. The last of the matchlocks also disappeared, and defensive armour, except with the heavy horse, was entirely laid aside; but the pike still kept its place down to the year 1707, when it also was felt to be out of date; and, like the vaubrases and breast-plates of the old foot-soldier, was passed, by general order, into the King's stores. The Dragoon, however, continued for many years after this to carry his long musket and bayonet, which fitted him, it was imagined, to act as an infantry soldier, in case of need; while his sword put him on an equality with the horse, should he find himself confronted by them.

The appearance of the Household Troops at this period was magnificent, and bore ample testimony to the services they had rendered, and the fame they had acquired during the late and preceding wars. The Life Guards and Oxford Blues were mounted on tall and powerful chargers, and accoutred with cuirasses over scarlet or blue coats, but otherwise unfurnished with defensive armour. Their weapons were long, straight, half basket-hilted swords, with pistols in their holsters. They carried their ammunition in cartouch-boxes. They wore high jack-boots, broad-brimmed hats, looped up on one side, and adorned with white feathers. They carried their kits in saddle-bags, and presented altogether a warlike and most imposing appearance. The Foot Guards were a splendid-looking body of men;* they wore long red coats, white

* Chamberlayne, in his "New State of England," published during the reign of King William III., says there were three regiments of Foot Guards (exclusive of the Scots Fusilier Guards, which did duty in Scotland, then a distinct kingdom), two English and one Dutch; the first of twenty-eight companies, comprising one thousand nine hundred and seventy men; the second, or

sashes, blue breeches and gaiters ; the slouched hats of the privates were adorned with ribbons, and those of the officers with feathers ; and their broad buff belts supported a sword and a bayonet on one side, and a cartouch-box on the other.

Four long years of peace seem to have exhausted the patience of King William ; for, at the commencement of 1702, orders were given for two squadrons of Life Guards to be ready for service abroad, at which time war with France was contemplated ; but the decease of his Majesty retarded the preparations for war, and the Life Guards attended the remains of their late sovereign to Westminster Abbey, instead of accompanying him to the field.

Queen Anne succeeded on the death of his Majesty, March 8, 1702, and, amongst other household arrangements, retained the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, now familiarly called "The Oxford Blues," in immediate attendance on the Court. In the year following, this regiment was given to the Duke of Northumberland, natural son of King Charles II., on the decease of the Earl of Oxford, who had commanded it, with one brief intermission, for forty-two years.*

Her Majesty continued the course of foreign policy adopted by her predecessor, in order to check the ambition of Louis XIV., and declared war against France ; but the Life Guards and Oxford Blues did not serve

Coldstream, fourteen companies, in all nine hundred and eighty men ; and the third, or Dutch Blue Guards, of twelve companies, comprising eight hundred and sixty men. But the presence of the Dutch Guards did not prove agreeable to the nation ; and in 1699 an Act of Parliament was passed which restricted the troops in English pay to his Majesty's natural-born subjects. In March, 1699, the Dutch Life and Foot Guards were accordingly reviewed by his Majesty, and sent back to Holland.

* In the *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont*, an anecdote is related of an actress said to have been seduced by the Earl of Oxford, by the artifice of a pretended marriage, at which the trumpeter and kettle-drummer of his lordship's regiment officiated as parson and clerk. The name of the actress is not recorded ; but she is supposed to have been the *Roxalana*, so called from her performance of that character, mentioned in the *Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys* ; and the occurrence, so characteristic of the licentious gallantry of a courtier of the reign of Charles II., must, if true, have taken place shortly after the Restoration.

abroad in the campaigns which followed; nor were they employed on any of the expeditions during the war, excepting a few men who aspired to commissions, and were permitted to serve abroad in the character of volunteers.

This, however, was not the case with the Foot Guards, who were not only employed on foreign service, but in a more scattered manner than they had ever been before; some with the Duke of Marlborough in the Netherlands, some with the Earl of Peterborough in Spain, and some with the Duke of Ormond and Lord Galway in Portugal. To give anything like a full and connected narrative of the battles, sieges, and other military events in which they bore no doubt a distinguished, but a comparatively unimportant part, from their scattered positions and paucity of numbers, would far exceed the limits of this little volume. We must therefore content ourselves with noticing the salient points of their respective services, which we find in their own records, and the military annals of the time, from the demise of William to the accession of George the Second, when they were again brigaded in the field, to add fresh laurels to those they had already acquired.

The British force sent to Holland in June, 1701, included a battalion of the First Foot Guards. The Duke of Ormond was likewise appointed to command the troops destined for Spain in 1702, which composed a battalion of the Coldstream, including two companies of the First Guards. In July, 1704, Lord Galway* embarked at Portsmouth, to take the command in Portugal; and a battalion of Guards, consisting of two hundred of the First Guards and four hundred of the Coldstream, formed part of his force; and, finally, a battalion of the Scots Fusilier Guards embarked at Berwick, for Spain, in 1809. In this manner, though the Foot Guards were nearly all engaged on very active foreign service during this war, they

* This is the Marquis de Roigny, whose gallantry at the battle of Anghrim we have already recorded.

had no opportunity of evincing what that noble body of men were capable of doing in brigade or divisional movements, which, fortunately for the liberty and happiness of Europe, they were afforded during the last war with Napoleon.

The object of the English expedition to Spain was to establish Charles, Duke of Austria, upon the throne of that country, to the prejudice of Philip V., grandson of Louis XIV., who had been nominated successor by the late King of Spain's will, and had been accepted by the majority of that kingdom. Charles was furnished by England and her allies with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and nine thousand men; and the Earl of Peterborough, a man of even romantic bravery, was placed at their head.

The first demonstration was made by the Duke of Ormond, in an unsuccessful attempt to take Cadiz, which was favourable to Philip, the reigning monarch. After failing in this, the expedition was returning to England, when the admiral, Sir George Rooke, and the Duke of Ormond, received intelligence that the Spanish galleons, under a French convoy, had put into Vigo. They immediately resolved to attack them; and the Duke of Ormond, to facilitate the entrance to the harbour—which was secured by batteries on each side, and a strong boom, formed of ships' yards and topmasts fastened together, and moored across—landed two thousand five hundred men near Vigo, the first brigade consisting of a battalion of Guards and three regiments of infantry, under the Duke of Ormond and Brigadier Hamilton.* The Grenadiers gallantly carried the fort and platform of Rodendella, mounting forty pieces of cannon at the entrance of the harbour, although the enemy had a force of ten thousand men in and near the place, under the Prince Brabangon.

* The Duke of Ormond was attended by upwards of twenty private gentlemen of the second troop of Life Guards, who were permitted to serve as volunteers in this expedition; and their conduct at the storming of the forts at the port of Vigo was commended.

When the British ensign was hoisted on the fort, the squadron advanced with a press of sail directly against the boom, which was broken by the *Torbay*, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Hopson, who led the van. After a vigorous opposition, the French, finding themselves unable to make further resistance, destroyed the galleons and their own ships. Eight large vessels being burnt and four sunk, not more than six French ships, three Spanish, and five galleons were taken. The remainder were either consumed by the flames or run on shore; but a quantity of silver and valuable colonial produce fell into the hands of the victors.*

Another episode of the Spanish war was the surrender of Gibraltar to Sir George Rooke and the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, on the 24th of July, 1704; since which period it has been one of the most important fortresses in the possession of Great Britain. Immediately after it fell into our power, the French and Spaniards attempted to recover it with a powerful force; but the battalion of English Guards, which had been taken to Portugal by Lord Galway, and some other troops, were sent from Lisbon to reinforce the garrison. They arrived on the 18th of December, 1704; and the Prince of Darmstadt, thus strengthened, made a sortie on the 23rd, destroying the lines which had been erected within a hundred and sixty paces of the palisade.

On the 7th of February, 1705, the enemy, encouraged by an addition of two thousand French troops, attacked with five hundred chosen Grenadiers, French and Walloons, supported by one thousand Spanish troops. They mounted the hill in perfect silence by break of day, and attempted to storm the Round Tower, which was defended by Colonel Borr. The assailants, by throwing from above great stones and grenadoes on his men, at last obliged him to retire into that part of the works where the battalion

* These produced, after deducting all expenses, £5,302 12s. 1d., which was divided in the following manner: one-ninth part to the general officers, and eight-ninths to the eight regiments employed.—*Harl. MS.*

of English Guards was posted. Flushed with success, the enemy advanced too far ; and being gallantly charged by the Coldstream and Barrymore's regiment, they were driven from the Round Tower. The garrison by this time had assembled, and kept up so destructive a fire that the enemy were obliged to make a precipitate retreat, leaving seventy men killed on the spot, and nearly three hundred wounded and prisoners. After a siege of seven months, during which Gibraltar was vigorously defended by the Guards and other troops, the enemy retired in April, giving up all hopes of being able to make any impression of this important fortress.

The Earl of Peterborough having touched at Lisbon, with the fleet under Sir Cloudesly Shovel, received Prince Charles on board ; and taking up the battalion of Guards at Gibraltar, sailed for Barcelona, where they arrived on the 11th of August, 1705. The almost impregnable fortress of Montjuich, and Barcelona itself, soon fell before the energetic efforts of Peterborough ; and all Catalonia, with the exception of Rosas, declared for the Austrian Prince.*

Philip having resolved to attempt the recovery of Barcelona, two armies, under the Duke de Noailles and Marshal de Tessé, were put in motion for that purpose. The allied troops, supposing that Tortosa was the place threatened, were all sent to that town, with the exception of the battalion of Guards, at this time reduced to three hundred men. These were intrusted with the duty of protecting the person of the Prince, and defending Montjuich against the enemy who now besieged it. Fortunately, some reinforcements succeeded in throwing themselves into the place before it was fully invested, and it was stoutly maintained against every effort of the enemy.

* The Governor of Montjuich, with his garrison, retired into the dungeon (donjon), which is a small fort within the great one ; and there believing himself in safety, he made a resolute defence till the 6th of September, 1705, on which day the magazine blew up, and destroyed the governor, several officers, and fifty men ; the remainder, amounting to three hundred and fifty, surrendered. — *Memoirs of Captain Carleton.*

On the evening of the 15th of April, 1706, after a long bombardment, the French attacked the western outwork of Montjuich, where Charles's new Spanish Foot Guards were posted, who, on the first advance of their assailants, precipitately retreated. At midnight the enemy reached the post occupied by the battalion of the English Guards, who, the Grenadiers particularly, distinguished themselves on the occasion. "In fine, never any soldiers behaved better; some of them, nay, and my Lord Donegal himself, too—throwing back the enemy's grenades upon them."*

On the 21st, a severe conflict took place at Montjuich, in which Lord Donegal lost his life. "He would hear of no quarter, which the enemy that knew him offered him. He had cut to pieces half-a-dozen Grenadiers and an officer that had personally engaged him, and was attacking a captain, when an unhappy bullet shot him through the heart, and he fell."† On the night of the 5th of May, as the English officers on guard were sitting together in a circle, with a large dog asleep in the centre, one of the enemy's shells falling upon the animal killed him, of course; but his blood extinguished the fuse and saved them all from destruction.‡

Two days after, the French squadron stood out to sea, having received intimation that the allied fleet was approaching; and on the 12th of May the besieging army broke up and left their encampment, having lost five thousand men in their attacks on Montjuich, by the different sallies made, and the fire of the garrison, though at the commencement of this memorable siege there were in the place only the mutilated battalion of Guards, and two hundred men that stole in previous to the regular investment.§

* Journal of the Siege of Barcelona.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ The same day on which the siege was raised (1st of May, O. S.) there was a total eclipse of the sun. Bishop Burnet, in the "History of His Own Times," relates that the superstitious looked upon it as a bad omen, and censured De Tessé, the French general, for not having raised the siege one day sooner. Charles ordered medals to be struck for the commemoration of this extraordinary siege, with a corresponding device of the sun eclipsed, and this motto:—"Sic obscuratur gloria magni regis."

After this glorious siege, the battalion of Guards was placed under the command of Lieutenant-General Wyndham, who captured Requena and Cuenza, on the line of march from Valencia to Madrid. Captain Carleton, in his Memoirs, speaks of these operations as follows :—"From Huette (not far from Cuenza) the Earl of Peterborough marched forwards from Valencia, with only those fourscore Dragoons which came with him from Chuicon, leaving General Wyndham pursuing his own orders to join his forces to the army then under the command of the Lord Galway.

But, stopping at Campilio, a little town in our way, his lordship had information of a most barbarous act committed that very morning by the Spaniards, at a small villa, about a league distant, upon some English soldiers. A captain of the English Guards, then under the command of General Wyndham, with some of his soldiers that had been in the hospital, took up his quarters in that little villa. But, on his marching out of it next morning, a shot in the back laid that officer dead on the spot ; and, as it had been before concerted, the Spaniards of the place at the same time fell upon the poor weak soldiers, killing several, not even sparing their wives.

This was but a prelude to their barbarity—their savage cruelty was only whetted, not glutted. They took the surviving few, hurried and dragged them up a hill a little without the villa. On the top of this hill there was a hole or opening, somewhat like the mouth of one of our coal-pits ; down this they cast several, who, with hideous shrieks and cries, made more hideous by the echoes of the chasm, there lost their lives.

"This relation was thus made to the Earl of Peterborough, at his quarters at Campilio, who immediately gave orders for to sound to horse. At first we were all surprised, but were soon satisfied that it was to revenge or rather to do justice on this barbarous action. As soon as we entered the villa, we found that most of the inhabit-

ants, but especially the most guilty, had withdrawn themselves on our approach. We found, however, many of the dead soldiers' clothes, which had been conveyed into the church, and there hid; and a strong accusation being laid against a person belonging to the church, and full proof made that he had been singularly industrious in the execution of that horrid piece of barbarity on the hill, his lordship commanded him to be hanged up at the knocker of the door. After this piece of military justice, we were led up to the fatal pit or hole, down which many had been cast headlong. There we found one poor soldier alive, who, upon being thrown in, had caught fast hold of some impending bushes, and saved himself on a little jutting within the concavity. On hearing us talk English, he cried out; and ropes being let down, in a little time he was drawn up, when he gave us an ample detail of the whole villany. Among other particulars, I remember he told me of a very narrow escape he had in that obscure recess. A poor woman, one of the soldiers' wives that were thrown down after him, struggled and roared so much, that they could not, with all their force, throw her cleverly in the middle; by which means, falling near the side, in her fall she almost beat him from his place of security. Upon the conclusion of this tragical relation of the soldier thus saved, his lordship gave immediate orders for the firing of the villa, which was executed with due severity; after which his lordship marched back to his quarters at Campilio, from whence, two days after, we arrived at Valencia."

The services of the English troops after this in Spain, under the Earl of Galway, were of a disastrous character. They suffered dreadful privations from want of supplies; and at the battle of Almanza, which terminated the struggle in favour of Philip V., their force was inferior to that of the French and Spaniards under the Duke of Berwick. The two armies were formed in line, and the battle commenced about three o'clock p.m. The left of the confederates (Austrians, English, and Portuguese)

was, after a most gallant resistance, overpowered. The centre, consisting of the Guards, and other chosen troops from England and Holland, drove the enemy's first line on their second, and threw them into disorder. The Portuguese cavalry were, however, seized with a panic, and their infantry also took to flight. In consequence of this disaster, the English and Dutch, being left without support, were outflanked and surrounded. These brave men then formed into square and retired from the field. But, being destitute of provisions, abandoned by the cavalry, and cut off from all hope of supplies, thirteen battalions soon after surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

While these events were passing in Spain and Portugal, Marlborough was pursuing his glorious career in Flanders and Germany. The first great blow given to the French monarch was at the celebrated battle of Blenheim, in 1704, between the French under Marshal Tallard, and the allies under Marlborough and Prince Eugene. The French met with a terrible defeat; and a country of one hundred leagues in extent fell into the hands of the conquerors.* In 1706, Marlborough defeated Marshal Villeroy at Ramillies; and the whole country of Brabant fell into his power. In 1708, the victory of Oudenarde threw almost the whole of Flanders into the hands of the allies. In all these splendid victories, the First Guards bore a distinguished part; and, in the following year, both the First and the Coldstream participated in the glorious triumph at Malplaquet; and in Marlborough's last campaign, in 1711, which opened a passage into the heart of France; when, had the war been prosecuted in the same manner, in another season the allies might have been masters of Paris.

* Marshal Tallard, and several other officers of distinction, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Blenheim, were, on landing at Blackwall, removed to Nottingham and Litchfield, under the escort of two troops of the Oxford Blues, which remained in attendance on the marshal and his companions during their long detention in England. They were entertained, for several days, with great hospitality, by the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth; and, at parting, the marshal warmly expressed his gratitude to his noble host, assuring him that "in computing the time of his captivity in England, he should omit those days spent in enjoyment at Chatsworth."

But Marlborough was removed from the command of the army by a court intrigue which all his military skill could not counteract. The Duke of Ormond was appointed to succeed him with equal powers, and continued to operate against the French, until, in July, 1712, he received the Queen's command to suspend hostilities for two months, with a view to a general peace. The Treaty of Utrecht terminated the wars of Queen Anne. By the articles of this treaty, Louis XIV. abandoned the Pretender, acknowledged the Protestant succession, and the British troops took possession of Dunkirk.

On the termination of this war, the First and Coldstream Guards returned to England, where also a battalion of the Scots Fusiliers arrived about the same time from Dunkirk.

CHAPTER VIII.

Efforts of France to restore the Stuarts—Attempted Invasion of England—The Guards march against the Enemy—Riots in London—Trial of Dr. Sacheverel—Disturbances quelled by the Life Guards—Death of Queen Anne, and Accession of George I.—Abortive attempt in favour of the Pretender—Outbreak of the Spitalfields Weavers quelled by the Life Guards—Prices of Commissions in the Guards fixed by regulation—Death of George I., and Accession of George II.—War of the Austrian Succession—Combination against the Empress Maria Theresa—Her cause espoused by George II.—The Life and Foot Guards, and Oxford Blues, embark for Flanders—The British Army cross the Rhine—Battle of Dettingen.

THOUGH the Life Guards did not serve in foreign countries during the reign of Queen Anne, their services at home were of importance to the peace of the country, and frequently of a nature the most disagreeable and painful to the heart of a soldier. These we shall now briefly touch upon, before we resume the more interesting narrative of the foreign services of the Household Troops of England.

The death of King William had revived the hopes of the Papists; and the partisans of the late King James, who died at St. Germain on the 16th of September, 1701,

were employed in conspiring to effect the restoration of his family with renewed vigour. The attendance of the entire brigade of Life Guards upon the Court was therefore deemed indispensable ; and the Queen increased the strength of the Scots Guards by the addition of a troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, which was raised at Edinburgh, and attached to the Scots troop of Life Guards.

The union between Scotland and England took place in 1707, when these two countries were formed into the United Kingdom of Great Britain ; yet neither the success of her Majesty's forces abroad, nor the union of her councils at home, prevented the adherents of the late King James's family from endeavouring to effect its restoration to the throne it had so justly forfeited.

In the early part of the year 1708 the King of France fitted out a fleet, and embarked troops to invade England, in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales, son of the late King James II. The expedition, with the Pretender on board, sailed from Dunkirk on the 17th of March of that year, with intent to land the troops in Scotland. To oppose this invasion, the first and second troops of Life Guards, a squadron of Horse Grenadier Guards, the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blues), a battalion of Foot Guards, and several regiments of foot, were ordered to march towards Scotland. The Life Guards and Horse Grenadier Guards left London on the 15th of March ; and ten English regiments were ordered to return from Holland. The enemy, however, having been chased by an English fleet, left the British shores in haste, without effecting a landing, and bent their course back to Dunkirk.

As the union of Scotland with England made it unnecessary to retain the Scots Life and Horse Grenadier Guards at Edinburgh, where they had been a guard of honour and safety to the Parliament and the Lord High Commissioner, they were brought to London, and incorporated with the three English troops, the clothing,

accoutrements and establishment of both being assimilated in every respect. The Scots Fusilier Guards were also soon after transferred to England, and shared the Household duties with the First Regiment of Foot Guards and the Coldstream.

As the civil power has frequently been found insufficient to suppress the outrages of the populace of London when excited by demagogues and other designing men, the Life Guards have generally on such occasions been called out to restore order. An event of this description occurred in 1710, when Parliament brought Dr. Sacheverel to trial for preaching and publishing two sermons, in which he strongly insisted on the illegality of resisting kings, and enforced the divine origin of their authority; declaimed against the Dissenters, and exhorted the Church to put on the whole armour of God. The trial lasted some days before the Lords in Westminster Hall, and the doctor was attended each day as he went by vast multitudes, shouting and praying for his success; for, strange to say, the people of England had at that period become Tories, all eager to defend hereditary succession, divine right, and non-resistance. Their enthusiasm, however, carried them too far; for, on the evening of the 1st of March, a number of the doctor's adherents broke into the Dissenters' meeting-houses, pulled down the pulpits, pews, seats and casements, and made fires of them in the street: they also plundered the houses of many respectable Dissenters. Her Majesty commanded her Guards to turn out and disperse the rioters; and Captain Horsey, who commanded the Queen's Life Guards at the palace, having first sent a party of Horse Grenadier Guards to secure the Bank, proceeded with his troops in quest of the rioters, whom he found in the act of demolishing a meeting-house in Blackfriars; and although he met with considerable resistance at first, yet he succeeded in capturing the ringleaders and dispersing the remainder without causing loss of life. Precautions were afterwards adopted for keeping the populace in awe during the

remainder of the trial; the result of which was that Sacheverel was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years, and his two sermons were burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

The remainder of Queen Anne's reign was spent in disputes between the Whig and Tory parties; the violence of which embittered her life, and appears to have shortened her days. She died on the 30th of July, 1714, being the last sovereign of the house of Stuart. George, Elector of Hanover, succeeded in virtue of the Act of Settlement: his Majesty arrived at Greenwich on the 17th of September, and was received by the Lords of the Regency, at the head of a detachment of Life Guards, and a battalion of Grenadier Foot Guards.

The dissensions occasioned in Scotland by the Union, which by certain parties was considered a national grievance, had not been wholly appeased. The Catholics in the Highlands were enemies to the Protestant succession; and some of the nobility, and other persons in England, being desirous of seeing the Pretender on the throne, they determined to take up arms in his cause. In September, 1715, the Earl of Mar assembled his vassals in Scotland, and proclaimed the son of James II. King of Great Britain, while the Earl of Derwentwater committed himself in a similar manner in England. Troops were immediately sent to the north, and the Life and Foot Guards were encamped in Hyde Park in preparation for service;* but before they were put in motion, both the Scotch and English rebels were defeated; the Pretender, who had actually arrived in Scotland, fled back again to the Continent, with the leaders in the rebellion, and the common people dispersed.

* The anniversary of the Prince of Wales's birthday occurring while the troops were in camp, they celebrated it with extraordinary festivity. "The Life Guards had an ox roasted whole at the head of the first troop standard, and 500 lbs. of pudding, with two hogsheads of wine and two of ale. The Foot Guards had a guinea a company to drink the Prince's health. Volleys of cannon and small arms were fired in the camp. In the evening the soldiers were assembled within illuminated circles, and drank many loyal healths with repeated huzzas."—*St. James's Evening Post*, Nov. 4, 1715.

In February, 1719, the Life and Foot Guards received orders to be ready to march at a moment's notice, and every preparation was made for taking the field. The King of Spain fitted out a fleet and embarked troops, with intent to invade England in favour of the Pretender; but the fleet was dispersed and disabled by a storm, and the purpose of the expedition defeated.

The expectation of foreign invasion having ceased, the Spitalfields weavers raised a commotion in the metropolis, which the civil power was found inadequate to quell, and the Life Guards were called out. A great importation of foreign silks, with the improvements introduced in the manufacture of printed calicoes, having thrown a number of silk-weavers out of employ, about four thousand of them assembled in a riotous manner, and, dividing themselves into companies, they dispersed and proceeded from street to street, committing great outrages, burning the foreign silks and the printed calicoes in the shops, stopping the women they met who had foreign silks or calicoes on, and cutting their clothes to pieces.* The Lord Mayor closed the city gates, and called the trained band to arms; and the Life Guards arriving speedily at the scene of confusion, after some resistance on the part of the weavers, order was restored.† The weavers now meditated the destruction of the calico-printers' presses at Lucern, in Surrey, and several hundreds left London for that purpose; but they were overtaken and dispersed by the Life Guards. The disposition evinced by the weavers to resume these outrages caused the Guards much extra duty for some time.

In February, 1720, his Majesty issued a regulation fixing the amount of purchase-money to be paid for regimental commissions in the army: the following were the regulated prices for the Guards.

* "One of the weavers was killed by a butcher, with his cleaver, in defence of his wife's calico gown."—*Weekly Journal*.

† "One of the weavers attempting to unhorse a Life Guardsman, was killed."—*Original Weekly Journal*.

LIFE GUARDS.

Lieutenant and Lieutenant-Colonel .	£4,000
Cornet	3,400
Guidon	3,200
Exempt	1,600
Brigadier	1,000
Sub-Brigadier	500
Adjutant	500

HORSE GRENADIER GUARDS.

Lieutenant and Lieutenant-Colonel .	£3,600
Major	2,900
Lieutenant and Captain	2,000
Guidon and Captain	1,600
Sub-Lieutenant	900
Adjutant	270

FOOT GUARDS.

Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain, First Regiment	£6,000
Do. Coldstream and Fusilier Guards .	5,000
First Major and Captain } each	3,600
Second Major and do. . }	
Captain	2,400
Captain Lieutenant	1,500
Lieutenant	900
Ensign	450
Adjutant	200
Quartermaster	150

The practice of selling commissions existed as early as the year 1679, though no formal regulation on that head can be found prior to the 27th of February, 1720. The private men of the troops of Life Guards also purchased their appointments, which they held by indenture. There does not appear to have been any fixed price ; but by the troop-register, in which the amount each man paid is set

against his name, the sum of £105 13s. 6d. appears generally to have been paid.

The friends of the Stuart family were, notwithstanding their previous disasters, still engaged in conspiring for the overthrow of the existing Government; information of which having been received by the King, camps were again formed in various parts of the country, and the troops kept in constant readiness to act upon any emergency. The Life and Foot Guards were encamped in Hyde Park, in May, 1722, and again in the summer of 1723; but their services were not called for in the field. George I. died at Osnaburg on the 11th of June, 1727, and was succeeded by his son, George II.

The reign of George the First, whatever its influence may have been on the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of the country, fills, as we have seen, but a narrow space in the military history of England, no British force having appeared in the field during the thirteen years he occupied the throne. The case was different after the accession of his son. For a while, indeed, a sort of feverish truce harassed rather than refreshed the nation, which, during this interval of foreign peace, was infested with robbers, assassins, and incendiaries: robberies on the highway in open day were of common occurrence, and the daring feats of Turpin and Rob Roy were a theme of general conversation. Every member of the Royal Family, when travelling, or even taking a short ride, was invariably attended by an escort, and the vicinity of the palaces was patrolled by the Guards. Nay, so daring had the highwaymen become, that on the 8th of June, 1735, the Countess of Stafford was stopped and robbed, when returning in her carriage, attended by four footmen, from her Majesty's drawing-room. Lady Stafford returned to Court, and a party of Life Guards was ordered to escort her ladyship home.*

* This deplorable state of the country continued for many years after, and even in 1781 we find Horace Walpole giving the following recital to the Countess of Ossory, in his epistolary gossip:—

“Lady Browne and I were, as usual, going to the Duchess of Montrose, at

took up their winter-quarters in Flanders, and the Hanoverians and Hessians in Luxemburg and Liege.

In the early part of 1743, the army advanced in divisions for the Rhine, and arrived in the beginning of June at Höchst on the Mayne, from whence they proceeded across that river, and pitched their tents at Aschaffenburg, where the King and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland joined the army. The immediate object of this demonstration was to operate an important diversion in favour of Prince Charles of Lorraine (then opposing the French and Prussians in Bavaria), by finding employment for a French army of fifty-eight thousand men, which, under the command of the Duke de Noailles, was then encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Here the hostile armies lay for a day or two ; the allies, about thirty-eight thousand strong, occupying a line on the north side of the Mayne, the French extending along its southern bank ; and the waters of the river, about sixty yards across, alone interposing between their advanced sentries.

The King having remained stationary in this position till his provisions were exhausted, and it was even seriously proposed to kill the horses for want of forage, determined, on the 13th of June, to fall back upon Hanau, whither he learned that twelve thousand Hanoverian and Hessian troops were come to meet him. Marshal Noailles, who seems to have anticipated this movement, shifted his camp the same night ; and leaving twelve thousand men with orders to occupy Aschaffenburg as soon as the allies should have abandoned it, marched with the remainder of his divisions down the course of the stream.

This manœuvre was not unnoticed. At first it was imagined, because they had set fire to quantities of straw and rubbish, that the French were in full retreat ; and at nightfall on the 15th, the allies received orders to be ready at dawn for a forward movement. But the dawn showed them not only a strong intrenchment thrown up on the other bank of the Mayne, but the village of De

Hingen, and the broken ground about it, seized and occupied in force on their own side. The fact was, that, under cover of darkness, Marshal Noailles had carried about forty thousand men across the river, which he threw, with excellent judgment, right in the King's way; from whom he had also cut off the chance of escape, by occupying Aschaffenburg with the corps allotted for that purpose.

The village of Dettingen stands about midway in a narrow plain, between the river Mayne and a range of low but difficult mountains. That face of the village which looks towards Aschaffenburg was covered by a marsh, while some deep and woody ravines closed in to the right and left, so as to surround it on three sides with a sort of natural fortification. Here Marshal Noailles posted his nephew, the Duke of Grammont, with the flower of the French army—the cavalry of the Guard, the *gens-d'arme*, and all the picked regiments of horse and foot that were with him. The instructions given to the young soldier were, that he should in this position be satisfied with acting only on the defensive till the proper moment arrived, when, without fail, free scope would be afforded to his own and his squadrons' impetuosity. Meanwhile, the farther bank of the stream, which was more elevated than that on the English side, was lined with batteries of cannon. The heights also on the other side of the plain were occupied, and a strong corps was held in hand, wherewith the Marshal himself proposed, so soon as the English ranks should be shaken, to fall upon them. In a word, the French order of battle was as perfect as the mind of man can well conceive, to which the natural slope and bearing of the ground gave great facilities. The English were advancing into a fatal trap; and their retreat being cut off at Aschaffenburg, they could only look for deliverance through their own unconquerable bravery.

The King having commanded the army to form in order of battle, the Life Guards, Oxford Blues, and Horse Grenadier Guards, under the Earl of Crawford, the three

battalions of English Foot Guards, with some Hanoverian cavalry and artillery, took post on the bank of the river, to cover the movement, and being exposed to a heavy cannonade, several men and horses were killed. "During the whole disposition, which lasted from eight to twelve, the French batteries, posted on the rising grounds on the other side of the Mayne, did us a great deal of harm, flanking us from left to right within 200 paces."*

When the order of battle was completed, the allies moved on in one long column, the front of which was covered by the Life Guards and some English cavalry regiments, while its left flank lay completely exposed to the fire of the French artillery. Still, however, onward they moved, till the position of the enemy became manifest in all its bearings, and the round shot from the batteries began to tell. The column was then ordered to deploy, while the cavalry manœuvred in front for the purpose of covering the formation, not without sustaining some loss from a dropping fire out of the inclosures ; and it was here that the Household Cavalry had an opportunity of signalling themselves under the eye of their sovereign. The Earl of Crawford, being Gold Stick in Waiting, had charge of his Majesty's person ; and when moving his brigade across the ground, he observed a French battery, partly masked, with the guns pointed direct upon the King, and so placed that the first fire must inevitably have produced the most fatal effects. With great presence of mind, the Earl of Crawford advanced his brigade against the cavalry which supported the guns. The enemy sent a strong reinforcement of horse to this part of the field ; but his lordship continued to advance, and, by several changes of position, succeeded in bringing the French cavalry in front of the muzzles of their own cannon, which was the object he had in view ; and, having effected this, he halted his brigade, and requested his Majesty's further commands. The King commended his lordship's judicious conduct, and expressed

* London Gazette from July 12 to 16, 1743.

his admiration of the gallant bearing of his Household troops while confronting an enemy of superior numbers.

And now came the tug of war. The French Guards, gay in splendid uniforms, bright in armour, headed by the Duke de Grammont, accompanied by two princes of the royal blood and the flower of the French nobility, were impatient of inactivity, and advanced with all the ardour and audacity which confidence of success could inspire, to commence the action. The British horse advanced with a loud huzza to engage their celebrated antagonists, but were repulsed; they, however, soon rallied again, and returned to the charge, but the Duke of Grammont and his associates fell upon and broke them by weight of numbers. This was enough to spoil the arrangements of Marshal Noailles, and he exclaimed bitterly against its rashness; but the fiery Frank could no longer be restrained: he rushed upon the British infantry, who opened their ranks to admit him and his followers, which exposed them to a flank fire of musketry, and they were totally destroyed. The remainder of this splendid body of French horse was broken in the third rally of the allied cavalry. The Royal Dragoons captured the standard of the *mousquetaires noirs*, and the Scots Greys the white standard of the French Household Cavalry.* In the furious *mêlée* which occurred, a cornet of Ligonier's Horse (now the 7th Dragoon Guards), by name Richardson, was surrounded, and, refusing to surrender his standard, received upwards of thirty wounds. Though nearly hacked to pieces, and having the staff of the standard broken in his hand, he never ceased to retain it, and brought it in triumph out of one of the hardest fought affairs in which British cavalry have ever been engaged.

Lord Stair then rode up to the infantry, and told them they might yet have the glory of beating the French, whose third line was to be seen drawn up in beautiful

* A white standard, embroidered with gold and silver; in the middle a bunch of nine arrows, tied with a wreath. It was all stained with blood: the lance broken, the cornet killed without falling, being buckled behind to his horse, and his standard buckled to him. Motto, *Alterius Jovis altera Tela*.

order. This information was received with three cheers, and the troops again advanced. The attack was conducted with such gallantry that the enemy gave way and retired in disorder. While the storm of battle still raged over the field, the Earls of Crawford and Albemarle led the Life Guards against a body of French infantry, whose glittering bayonets and waving colours were dimly seen through the smoke: the trumpets sounded, "Britons, strike home!" the charging horsemen raised a loud shout, and, though assailed by an irregular volley of musketry, they rushed with terrific violence upon their opponents, who were instantly broken and overthrown. Plunging into the midst of their enemy's ranks, the Life Guards trampled and cut down the opposing musketeers, and spread terror and disorder on every side. Some of the French infantry, despairing to escape, cast themselves on the ground; crowds fled in dismay towards the bridges over the river, others defended themselves with resolution, while the Life Guards were seen galloping onward, smiting their adversaries with their glittering swords, and performing deeds of valour worthy the high character of the corps. The whole line now pressing forward, the enemy gave way in every direction and fled; and the confederate cavalry pursued their opponents through Dettingen and Welsheim to the woods. The Earl of Crawford, with his brigade of Life Guards, was foremost in the pursuit; and on one occasion his lordship, observing that the chase slackened, ascended an eminence, and waved his hat to the confederates to let them know they might safely follow the Life Guards. The enemy passed the river in such confusion that great numbers were drowned.*

A complete victory was gained: several standards were

* King George, by his bravery, added greatly to the natural confidence of the British. On this occasion his Majesty rode between the lines, fearless of the fire of the artillery and musketry, gave his orders with calmness, and placed himself at the head of the infantry, flourishing his sword, and exclaiming, "Now, my brave boys! Now for the glory of England! Advance boldly, and fire!"

taken from the enemy, whose loss is stated to have been five thousand men, and the allied troops passed the night upon the field of battle.*

CHAPTER IX.

Inactivity of George II.—Dissensions amongst the Confederates—Duke of Cumberland appointed to command the Army—He resolves to relieve Tournay—Battle of Fontenoy—Misconduct of the Dutch—Singular Scene between the French and English Guards—Deroute of the former—Fierce Combat between the Irish Brigade and the English Guards—Defeat of the Allies—The Retreat admirably covered by the Life Guards—The Guards recalled to England by the Attempt of the Pretender—Reduction in the Life Guards—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—New War—Flying Expeditions—Destruction of Cherbourg—Heavy Loss of the Guards—Undecisive Campaigns—Battles of Minden and Warbourg.

THOUGH George II. had displayed great personal bravery on the field of battle, he was neither active nor enterprising after it; for Lord Stair having implored him to follow up the victory he had won, he declined doing so, and thus allowed the broken army of Marshal Noailles to escape impending destruction. He did not even wait either to bury his dead or to remove his wounded; but marched his army on the following day to Hanau, where it was joined by the Hessians and Hanoverians, also by several regiments from England, and a train of artillery.

Voltaire, who has well described this battle in his "History of the War of 1741," says that, happening to meet Lord Stair a few weeks after the event, his lordship remarked, "You (the French) committed one mistake; we committed two. Yours was the passing of the broken ground in front of Dettingen, instead of waiting to be attacked there; ours were, first exposing ourselves to destruction, and then not making a proper use of our victory."

Though the battle of Dettingen redounded to the glory

* Amongst the English wounded officers was Lieutenant and Adjutant Elliott. This is the same officer who was subsequently the celebrated General Elliott, and who so highly distinguished himself in the defence of Gibraltar for which he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Heathfield.

of England, the campaign of 1743 was not very profitable to the allies in the Low Countries ; but that of the following year was altogether inglorious, owing to the dissensions amongst the confederate generals, and the obstinacy of the Dutch. In consequence of these disagreements, it was proposed that the Duke of Cumberland should be invested with the supreme command in the ensuing campaign, which, it was expected, would have the beneficial effect of making all the inferior generals act together.

Accordingly, in the early part of April, 1745, the Duke of Cumberland, who had returned with his father to England at the end of the campaign of 1743, was sent over to assume the chief command ; and he was not long in making for himself an opportunity, though not, perhaps, a wise one, of measuring his strength with that of the enemy. This occurred at Fontenoy, a battle wherein it may with truth be asserted that, whatever degree of merit belongs to the chiefs who led him, the British soldier, in point of daring and obstinate courage, surpassed even himself.

The French having collected an immense force under Marshal Count de Saxe, and invested Tournay, his Royal Highness resolved, though greatly inferior to the enemy in numbers, to endeavour to relieve the garrison, which consisted of 8000 Dutch ; and, advancing against the enemy, drove back the French out-guards on the 28th of April. On the following day the brigade of Household Cavalry, under the Earl of Crawford, with a strong division commanded by Lieutenant-General Campbell, and some Dutch troops, were sent forward to clear the woods and villages, and drive in the French troops that were posted in front of their army. Dispositions were made for attacking the enemy, and at daybreak on the morning of the 30th the confederate forces advanced. The Life Guards, being in front, were at their post before five o'clock ; but the main body was occupied several hours in passing the defiles and other obstacles through which the approach was made.

The French army, under Marshal Saxe, and emboldened by the presence of their king, Louis XV., and the Dauphin, was posted in a fortified camp, having on their right a river and the village of Antoine, where a commanding battery was erected; another battery defended their centre; and in front was the village of Fontenoy, strongly entrenched and fortified. The wood of Barri, on the left, was filled with artillery, and a fourth redoubt was constructed at the advanced angle of it. The French camp rose with a gentle ascent from the plain. Numerous lines behind each other intersected all the level ground, which would expose the allies to a galling fire if they attempted to pass. The French, independent of the security of their position, were greatly superior in numbers, and had, besides, two hundred and sixty-six pieces of cannon.

At two o'clock A.M. the confederates advanced in four columns, and drew up on the plain. Brigadier-General Ingoldsby was sent with four battalions to take a battery in the wood of Barri; and Prince Waldeck, with the Dutch troops, advanced against Fontenoy. The cannonade, which commenced at a quarter past four A.M., was continued without intermission; and while the first line was forming, an inconceivable number of bullets plunged in amongst the British, but they stood undaunted. Lieutenant-General Sir John Ligonier was ordered to advance with the brigade of Guards and seven guns, to check a destructive fire from the enemy's field-artillery, which was quickly silenced. At nine o'clock the allies had completed their formation, and the troops, led by the Duke of Cumberland, moved forward with astonishing intrepidity to their respective points of attack, passing between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri, notwithstanding the "fire of cannon making whole lanes through the ranks of the confederates, particularly the English."* At this period the Dutch infantry, which covered the left flank of the British, were broken, and could not be rallied during

* Historical Memoirs of the Duke of Cumberland.

any part of the day : their cavalry were also thrown into great confusion. Lord Crawford remarks that "this deroute of the Dutch had an extremely bad effect on the mind of the troops in general ; though not so much on ours, who were the first ranged, and still marched towards the enemy, the noblest sight (says his lordship) I ever beheld, and never stopped till they got through a shower of bullets and musketry."*

In spite of this tremendous fire, the first line, headed by the Duke of Cumberland, succeeded in passing Fontenoy and the redoubts, till it got within thirty yards of the enemy. And here, at a moment of such critical and deadly interest, occurred an interchange of civility, and a scene of drawing-room politeness, which we should hesitate to believe on any other authority than that of Voltaire, in his "History of the War of 1741," and of De Tocqueville, in his "History of Louis XV."

"The officers of the English Guards," says Voltaire, "when in presence of the enemy, saluted the French by taking off their hats. The Count de Chambanne and Duke de Biron, who were in advance, returned the salute, as did all the officers of the French Guards. Lord Charles Hay, captain of the English Guards, cried, 'Gentlemen of the French Guards, fire!' The Count d'Anteroche, lieutenant of Grenadiers, replied in a loud voice, 'Gentlemen, we never fire first ; we will follow you.' The English then commenced a running fire in divisions, so that one battalion made a discharge, afterwards another, during which the first reloaded. Nineteen officers of the Guards fell by the first discharge. Messieurs De Clisson, De Ligney, De la Peyre, and ninety-five soldiers were killed, and two hundred and eighty-five were wounded : also eleven Swiss officers, and two hundred and nine of their soldiers, out of which sixty-four died on the spot. Colonel Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers, were dangerously wounded. The first rank being swept away, the three others, finding

* Memoirs of John Earl of Crawford.



INCIDENT AT THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY.

themselves unsupported, except by a regiment of cavalry at some distance, dispersed. The Duke of Grammont, their colonel and first lieutenant-general, who might have rallied them, was killed. Monsieur Les Haux, next in rank to De Grammont, did not reach the spot till they had abandoned the ground. The English advanced as if performing part of their exercise; the majors levelling the soldiers' muskets with their canes to make their discharge more sure."

The French Guards being thus broken, and forced back upon the Irish Brigade, the enemy's cavalry advanced, but went about, unable to face the fire. At this period the British had decidedly the advantage over the left wing; for though several of the enemy's squadrons rallied, they were again forced back by the fire of the British infantry. This body, unsupported by the cavalry, bore down all before them; drove the left three hundred paces beyond Fontenoy, and made themselves masters of the field from the ground on which they stood to their own camp. The left wing of the enemy having retired to avoid fighting at close quarters, opened and uncovered two batteries of heavy guns, which poured on the British such a shower of musket-balls in front and flank that it was impossible to face them. But this celebrated column of British infantry, which, by filling up the intervals made in its ranks by the enemy's fire, suggested to a French writer the image of a tower repairing its own breaches, soon rallied, and, returning to the charge, threw the French into complete disorder. They were fairly beaten; and had some fresh battalions from the reserve been ordered to replace those that suffered from the grape-shot, or had the second line advanced to enable the cavalry to get past the redoubt, the enemy could not have recovered the day. Unfortunately, however, the attack of the Dutch on Fontenoy had failed, and Brigadier-General Ingoldsby did not take the battery in the wood, which enabled the enemy to pour so destructive a fire upon the troops which the Duke of Cumberland had led forward, unsupported by

the brigades in their rear, that his Royal Highness was obliged to retire.

But a second attack was afterwards determined upon. About mid-day the infantry, led by the Duke of Cumberland and Lieutenant-General Ligonier, advanced, and, driving the enemy before them with great slaughter, carried the trenches in gallant style ; but the Dutch were again defeated in their attack upon Fontenoy. The garrison of Tournay did not second the confederates by a sally upon the enemy ; and no reinforcements sustained the battalions in advance, which had suffered severely, being so constantly exposed to the attack of fresh troops that they were scarcely able to maintain their ground.

At this critical moment, Marshal Saxe brought forward his last resource, the Irish Brigade, consisting of the regiments of Clare, Lally, Dillon, Berwick, Ruth, and Buckley, with the horse of Fitz-James, supported by the regiments of Normandy and Vaisseaux. They advanced on the British, whose ranks were already thinned, and the men wearied by the exertion of fighting over the dead and wounded of both armies ; but, though unsupported, they remained steady and unshaken. The encounter between the British and the Irish Brigade was fierce, the fire constant, and the slaughter great ; but the loss on the English side was such that they were at length compelled to retire. During this retrograde movement the French cavalry attempted to break them, but were received by the brigade of Household Cavalry and some Hanoverian and British horse : these, advancing through the hottest fire, charged the enemy with great gallantry, but were overpowered by superior numbers, and a retreat was at length determined on. The Earl of Crawford had rallied his brigade of Household Cavalry, when a body of Dutch Dragoons, flying before the enemy, threw themselves upon his squadrons, and caused great confusion : his lordship, however, soon had the brigade formed again, kept his ground, and held the enemy in check until the last of the retiring troops had passed. The Household Brigade, with the remains of the battalions of Skelton and

Cholmondeley, then covered the retreat, and brought up the rear of the right wing out of the plain, until they reached Vezont, where they found Lieutenant-General Ligonier ranging his troops upon the rising ground that overlooks the village, and which, after exchanging a few shots with the enemy, retired. Lord Crawford then disposed a rear-guard of the Household Brigade, so as to cover the retreat of the whole army under the cannon of Aeth, which was happily executed; when his lordship took off his hat, and returned them thanks, saying "they had acquired as much honour in covering so great a retreat as if they had gained the battle."*

Soon after the battle of Fontenoy, the attempt of the Pretender, in 1745, occasioned the immediate recal of the Guards from Flanders, to defend their native country from impending danger.

The young Pretender commenced his career with activity: he defeated the King's troops, and made himself master of the greater part of Scotland. Having collected about 5000 men, he entered England by the west border, gained possession of Carlisle, and, continuing his route by Penrith, Preston, Manchester, Macclesfield, and Congleton, entered the town of Derby on the 4th of December, 1745. Much alarm prevailed in London, and the Government directed that the three regiments of Foot Guards which had arrived from the Continent should instantly be put in motion; while the Horse Grenadiers and Life Guards were to follow them immediately on their arrival.

But the royal adventurer, finding his hopes disappointed, and that there was no flocking to his standard as he expected, resolved on retreating back to Scotland; and this he did with such expedition as to escape all conflict with the Guards, who were in close pursuit of him. They however, participated in the reduction of Carlisle, until

* "Even at Fontenoy, the only great victory since the battle of Hastings which the French have gained over the English, the British were entirely successful: the 'terrible English column' penetrated through the French centre, and drove back Louis XV. from his station, after having successively routed every battalion but two in his army; and we have the authority of the French historians for the assertion, that if they had been at all supported by the Austrians and Dutch, they must have gained a glorious victory."—*Alison*.

then in the possession of the rebels ; and the defeat of Charles Edward and his Highland followers at Culloden, by the army under the Duke of Cumberland, put a final period to this threatening but abortive attempt.

After the suppression of this rebellion, his Majesty, in order to diminish the public expenditure, was induced to consent to the reduction of his corps of Life Guards from four troops to two, making a small augmentation to the number of private gentlemen of the remaining two troops. The officers of the two junior troops received annuities in addition to the regulated half-pay, and were placed as officers *en seconde* to the other troops. Many of the private gentlemen were embodied into the first and second troops, and the men of long services retired upon pensions. The remainder received annual allowances until they were provided for in the service ; and to a great number his Majesty gave commissions in regiments of the line. About the same period, the sergeants of the Foot Guards were ordered to leave off wearing ruffles, the Duke of Cumberland having said it was impossible to distinguish the non-commissioned from the commissioned officers.

Soon after the rebellion in favour of the Pretender, the Duke of Cumberland returned to Flanders ; and a brigade of Foot Guards also joined the army under his Royal Highness. The war with France was carried on without decided advantage on either side till the year 1748, when, all parties being weary, it was terminated by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.*

War had been again declared against France in the year 1756 ; and in order to rescue the Electorate of Hanover from the French armies, by which it was overrun, a large body of British troops was embarked for the Continent in the year 1758, to co-operate with the allied Hanoverians and Hessians. Amongst these the Oxford Blues embarked in the Thames in the month of May, in that year, and, shortly afterwards landing at Embden, in Germany, proceeded to join the allied army, of which

* The old building at Whitehall, where the Life and Horse Grenadier Guards mounted guard, having been pulled down, the present stately edifice called the Horse Guards was erected, in 1750.

Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick now assumed the chief command.

The British Government also fitted out two squadrons, under the command of Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke, to make a descent on the coast of France. A battalion from each regiment of Guards, including the first battalion of the Coldstream, and the four grenadier companies formed into a battalion, joined the army destined for the expedition, which consisted of sixteen battalions and nine troops of light horse, under Lieutenant-General the Duke of Marlborough.*

After an ineffectual attempt on Havre-de-Grace and Cherbourg, in which they were baffled principally by the tempestuous state of the weather, the troops were landed in the Isle of Wight; but on the 1st of August they embarked again on a second expedition, and in seven days the fleet anchored in Cherbourg Roads.

The French had entrenched themselves with batteries, placed at certain intervals, extending the distance of four miles along the coast. The attention of the enemy was, however, distracted by bomb-vessels, which kept up an incessant fire, and caused considerable mischief. Under cover of this fire, the Guards and Grenadiers were conveyed in the flat-bottomed boats, with great regularity, to the shore; and, on landing, they immediately formed. The enemy soon showed themselves from behind some sand-hills; but they were seized with a panic, and fled before the Guards and Grenadiers which composed the first division. On the morning of the 8th, the lines and batteries along the shore were found to be deserted. The army was formed into two columns, and began its march to Cherbourg, the gates of which being thrown open, they entered.

A manifesto had been published, containing a promise of strict discipline, if no resistance was made: this quieted the inhabitants, and prevented them from deserting their habitations; but the soldiers, notwithstanding, committed great outrages, and the general discipline of the army was

* The second of that title; grandson of the great Duke.

relaxed. "The soldiers," says Entick, "lived at large, and indulged themselves like brutes in riot, licentiousness, and plunder; a breach of faith very unbecoming the English, and which had well-nigh proved fatal to themselves. Had it not been through the strict discipline with which the Foot Guards set a laudable example of sobriety, the whole army were in danger of being cut off, in that dissolute scene of drunkenness that ensued from a discovery of the wine-magazines."

The basin of Cherbourg, with the piers at the entrance, were blown up, and the harbour rendered useless, together with all the forts which were destroyed. The enemy's force in the mean while becoming formidable, the British troops quitted the town on the 16th of August; and, getting on board the fleet without molestation from the enemy, they sailed next day for Weymouth.

Early in September, the troops sailed again for the French coast, and came to anchor in the Bay of St. Cas, a few leagues to the westward of St. Maloes; when it was determined without delay to march into the interior, taking care to proceed in such a manner as to keep up the communication with the fleet. On this occasion, a French shepherd was compelled to act as a guide to the Coldstream Guards, who were purposely misled by him; upon which, the late General, then Colonel Vernon, ordered him to be hanged. That officer used to say that he never witnessed a more affecting sight than the efforts made by the shepherd's dog to interrupt the men, when they proceeded to put the rope round his master's neck. The executioner had no small difficulty in keeping the affectionate animal off, though assisted by two drummers who enjoyed the reputation of having been practised dog-stealers in Westminster. "But," added the General, "John Bull is a poor creature when it comes to the pinch: I could not find it in my heart to put the stubborn fellow to death for his patriotism; and, after well frightening him, and almost breaking his heart by threatening to have his dog destroyed, I let him go, and the faithful creature with him."

After some unimportant proceedings in the presence of a superior force of the enemy, it was determined at a council of war, held on the 9th of September, that the English should re-embark early in the morning: the men, however, did not reach the beach till past nine o'clock. During the retreat, and until the embarkation commenced, skirmishing alone had taken place; but the French, who were in possession of an eminence that commanded the beach, then opened ten guns and eight mortars with great effect; the fire of which sank several boats on their passage to the ships. As the embarkation proceeded, the enemy descended the hill, though they suffered severely in their approach to the shore from their exposure to the shot from our vessels. The greater part of the British troops, including the Coldstream, who had reached St. Cas the previous day, got on board; but the Grenadiers of the Guards, and half the First Regiment of Guards, amounting altogether to fifteen hundred men, remained under Major-General Dury to cover the embarkation. When the French advanced on these brave men, who had fired away all their ammunition, they formed into grand divisions and prepared to charge; but it was too late: they were overpowered, and officers and men dropped on all sides. General Dury was severely wounded, and afterwards drowned in attempting to reach the ships; many officers and men shared the same fate. The slaughter was increased by a battery which from an eminence commanded the beach; but no sooner had the fire from the shipping ceased, than quarter and protection were instantly granted to the English who remained. Upwards of a thousand picked men of the British troops were killed or taken on this occasion. The humanity of the victors deserves every praise; for it cannot be denied that the British had, during their stay in the country, been guilty of many excesses.

These descents on the coast of France seem to have been injudicious and badly planned. They were attended with great waste of human life and a vast expenditure; and even if crowned with the most brilliant success, no

adequate results, beyond the burning of a few ships, were likely to accrue from them ; while as diversions they were on too small a scale to be of much efficacy. In these expeditions the British soldiers behaved with their accustomed intrepidity ; but that their valour led to no satisfactory consequences cannot be a subject of surprise. They were sent to a part of France well supplied with troops, both of the line and militia, and landed without maps, without guides, and without any object in view except that of a marauding-excursion.

Meanwhile, the war still raged in Germany, in the course of which the British and Hanoverians, under Prince Ferdinand, gained some advantages over the French, but not of a decisive kind. Indeed, the military history of this period is little more than an uninteresting narrative of field-manceuvres and undecisive battles of rare occurrence, which led to nothing. It displays none of those incidents which might, in some degree, have relieved the monotonous detail of marches and counter-marches ; and a soldier of the modern school can derive but little pleasure or instruction from following the movements of hostile commanders, who on both sides seem to have carried to such perfection the art of keeping clear of each other, that an officer educated under their system is said on one occasion to have cried out, " I don't like all this moving about : I should not wonder if some day or other we were to fall in with the enemy."

From this general censure, however, we must except the battle of Minden, which bears testimony to the indomitable endurance of the British infantry, and the scarcely less memorable fight at Warbourg, which vouches for the chivalrous bearing of the British cavalry. The Oxford Blues was the only part of the Household Troops present at these two actions, the brigade of Foot Guards not having returned till August to the Continent from that paltry marauding-expedition in which their energies were so shamefully wasted. Even at the battle of Minden the efforts of the Oxford Blues were paralysed by the conduct of Lord George Sackville ; but better luck

attended them at the battle of Warbourg, which was fought a year later, on the 31st of July, 1760. It was an offensive movement on the part of the allies, who, being now under the command of the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, attacked the reserve of the French under the Chevalier de Muy, and completely defeated it. The enemy were strongly posted, and had this additional chance in their favour, that when the firing began, the allied cavalry of the right wing, consisting exclusively of British troops, were five miles or more from the scene of action. But five miles of bad ground stood a very brief space between the Marquis of Granby—who had succeeded Lord George Sackville—and the battle. He carried his squadrons over them at a hand-gallop, and, falling upon the enemy with irresistible fury, overthrew both horse and foot, making many prisoners, and driving multitudes into the River Dymel, where they perished. It was especially notified in general orders next day, "that all the British cavalry performed prodigies of valour." The regiments engaged were the Oxford Blues; the 3rd and 4th Horse; the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Dragoon Guards; and the 2nd, 6th, 10th, and 11th Dragoons.

The three battalions of Foot Guards, under the command of Major-General Julius Caesar, joined the allied army on the 25th of August, 1760, and, together with the Oxford Blues, served with great distinction for the remainder of the war under Prince Ferdinand. Both England and France were, however, at length tired of this fruitless contest, and equally wished for peace; though, on the whole, the results of the Seven Years' War, as it was termed, were favourable as well as glorious to England, whose arms were eminently successful in America and the West Indies. A treaty was accordingly concluded in 1763, by which Great Britain kept possession of the greatest part of the conquests made during the war, and in January of that year the British troops returned from the Netherlands to England.

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adequate results, beyond the burning of a few ships, were likely to accrue from them ; while as diversions they were on too small a scale to be of much efficacy. In these expeditions the British soldiers behaved with their accustomed intrepidity ; but that their valour led to no satisfactory consequences cannot be a subject of surprise. They were sent to a part of France well supplied with troops, both of the line and militia, and landed without maps, without guides, and without any object in view except that of a marauding-excursion.*

Meanwhile, the war still raged in Germany, in the course of which the British and Hanoverians, under Prince Ferdinand, gained some advantages over the French, but not of a decisive kind. Indeed, the military history of this period is little more than an uninteresting narrative of field-manceuvres and undecisive battles of rare occurrence, which led to nothing. It displays none of those incidents which might, in some degree, have relieved the monotonous detail of marches and counter-marches ; and a soldier of the modern school can derive but little pleasure or instruction from following the movements of hostile commanders, who on both sides seem to have carried to such perfection the art of keeping clear of each other, that an officer educated under their system is said on one occasion to have cried out, "I don't like all this moving about : I should not wonder if some day or other we were to fall in with the enemy."

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nine per troop. The discharged men were conveyed to England with the remainder of the regiment, and certain allowances granted to them, to enable them to return to their previous places of abode. Each discharged trooper who had served for one whole year was permitted to sell his horse for his own benefit ; and an additional gratuity, equal to nine days' pay, was given to them on disembarking in England. To those who had served for less than a year, a gratuity of eighteen days' pay was given at the same time, and the whole were permitted to retain their clothes and cloaks.

CHAPTER X.

Military Improvements of George III.—Popular Disturbances—Conduct of the Life Guards—Destruction of Rioters—American War—Its peculiar Character and Incidents—Religious Riots in London—Powerful Military interference—Outrages on the Catholics—Burning of the Public Prisons—Great Loss of Life and Destruction of Property—The Troops of Life Guards formed into Regiments—Duel between the Duke of York and Colonel Lennox—The French Revolution—Preparations for War—A British Army sent to the Netherlands—Followed by a Brigade of Foot Guards—Gallantry of the Guards at St. Amand—Siege and Storming of Valenciennes—Assault and Conquest of Lincelles by the Guards.

KING GEORGE III., who had succeeded his grandfather, George II., on the 26th of October, 1760, was much attached to the army, and during his reign considerable improvements took place in all its branches. His Majesty spent much time every summer in reviewing the different corps, and ordering such alterations as he thought conducive to their efficiency or general appearance ; amongst which he commanded the Life Guards to be re-mounted on long-tailed horses,* a manifest improvement on the short dock which had been introduced a few years after the Revolution of 1688.

On the 10th of February, 1766, his Majesty established the following new scale of prices to be paid for regimental commissions.

* The reason assigned for this change is said to have been the great annoyance to which it was found the animal was subjected from the flies when on foreign service.

LIFE GUARDS.

First Lieutenant and Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	£5,500
Second ditto	5,100
Cornet and Major	4,300
Guidon and Major	4,100
Exempt and Captain	2,700
Brigadier and Lieut.-Adjutant and Lieut. . . .	1,500
Sub-Brigadier and Cornet . . . ,	1,200

HORSE GRENADEER GUARDS.

Lieutenant-Colonel	£5,400
Major	4,200
Lieutenant and Captain	3,100
Guidon and Captain	3,000
Sub-Lieutenant	1,700
Adjutant	1,400

FOOT GUARDS.

Lieut.-Col. and Capt., with rank of Colonel . .	£6,700
First and Second Majors, with rank of Colonel .	6,300
Captain, with rank of Lieut.-Colonel	3,500
Captain Lieut., with rank of Lieut.-Colonel . .	2,600
Lieutenant, with the rank of Captain	1,500
Ensign	900*

* These prices continued in force till the 1st of August, 1821, at which period the present rate was fixed by a Board of General Officers as follows:—

LIFE GUARDS.

Lieutenant-Colonel	£7,250
Major	5,350
Captain	3,500
Lieutenant	1,785
Cornet	1,200

ROYAL REGIMENT OF HORSE GUARDS (BLUES).

Lieutenant-Colonel	£7,250
Major	5,350
Captain	3,500
Lieutenant	1,600
Cornet	1,200

FOOT GUARDS.

Lieutenant-Colonel	£9,000
Major, with rank of Colonel	8,300
Captain, with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	4,800
Lieutenant, with rank of Captain	2,050
Ensign, with rank of Lieutenant	1,200

In the year 1768, much extra duty was performed by the Guards, in consequence of the numerous calls of the civil power for detachments to assist in dispersing riotous assemblages of the populace; for numerous publications were then issuing from the press of a character calculated to inflame the passions of the people. Early in January, disturbances began in Spitalfields, among the weavers; whose example was afterwards followed by almost every description of workmen in the metropolis, and loss of life frequently resulted from disputes among themselves. When John Wilkes was sent to prison on a charge of libel, the violence of the populace was so great that the civil authorities were obliged, as the only means of preserving the King's Bench prison from destruction, to order the military to fire, and many of the rioters were killed. The conduct of the Life and Horse Grenadier Guards, on these occasions, procured for them the thanks of their sovereign.

To these domestic troubles succeeded those in our transatlantic colonies; and during the winter of 1774, England made great preparations to reduce them to obedience. Considerable reinforcements were sent out under Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton; and a battalion of one thousand men, formed of drafts from the three regiments of Foot Guards, also embarked for the same destination.

But we shall not waste our time, or the patience of our readers, in a vain attempt to give a connected narrative of the marchings, counter-marchings, and skirmishes, in which the provisional battalion of the Guards was engaged during this unhappy war, so remarkable for exhibiting the indecision of our statesmen at home, and the incompetency of our generals abroad. "A war like this," it has been justly remarked,* "which was begun at random, and carried on throughout upon no rational plan, and without any unity of purpose, took away from the disciplined armies of England all the advantages which

* Gleig's "Military History."

experience and a knowledge of their art might have secured to them, and reduced the veteran to a level with the armed peasant, whose superior skill as a marksman gave him, in most instances, the advantage.”*

We shall therefore reserve our space for the momentous and much more interesting narrative of those mighty events that were soon to shake all Europe to its foundations, and in which the Household Troops of England bore so important and so glorious a part. In justice, however, to the individuals who composed the provisional battalion of the Guards in America, we must say that their conduct, in all the trivial actions wherein they were engaged, sufficiently proved that none of the disasters which befel the brave but most unfortunate army, so awfully compromised in that country, can fairly be attributed to them.

Of this the following isolated incidents will be a sufficient proof, while at the same time they will give the reader an adequate idea of the comparatively trivial operations of the American war.

On the 18th of June, 1778, the British army quitted Philadelphia, and crossed the Delaware. General Clinton approached the coast, to avoid crossing the Rariton ; and on the 27th he encamped near Freehold Court-house, in the county of Monmouth. At eight o'clock next day he had descended from the adjoining heights, with the intention of continuing his retreat, when two columns of the enemy were seen moving on both his flanks. Clinton attempted to bring on a general action, and prepared for an immediate attack ; but before it could be carried into execution, the Provincials retired, and posted themselves on a rising ground which they had previously occupied. They were now entrenched ; and as the baggage obstructed the English, it became requisite that some decisive step should be taken to prevent its capture. Clinton

* We have a striking example of this in the recent Caffre War, when the merest savages were so long enabled to baffle by their hedge-tactics the courage and discipline of some of the best troops in the world.

quickly made his arrangements. The Grenadiers, with their left, rested on the village of Freehold ; the Guards were stationed on the right of the Grenadiers, and commenced the attack with such spirit that the enemy were put to flight. The Provincials were strongly posted in their second line ; but, notwithstanding the excessive heat and great fatigue the troops had already undergone,* this second line was also attacked, and, after considerable resistance, broken by a steady and intrepid charge. The enemy, being thrown into complete disorder, fled in all directions ; but at this moment Washington came up with fresh troops, which he judiciously posted behind a ravine, and by his timely arrival saved his advanced corps from destruction. After the action, Sir Henry Clinton continued his march to Sandy Hook, where the army embarked, and landed the same day at New York.

In January, 1780, the Americans had established a post at Young's House, in the vicinity of White Plains, which intercepted the communication, and the passage of cattle and provisions intended for the supply of New York. It was considered expedient to dislodge the enemy, who were there strongly fortified, and amounted to three hundred men. The post in question was not more than twenty miles from the advance of the royal army ; but the rivers were all frozen, and it was ascertained that sledges would be of no use in passing the troops across.

On the evening of the 2nd of February, Colonel Norton set out with four flank companies of the Guards, two companies of Hessians, a few Yagers, some of them mounted, and two three-pounders. This detachment marched across the country by the most unfrequented tracts, to avoid the enemy's patrols ; and at daybreak

* " It would be sufficient honour to the troops barely to say that they forced a corps, as I am informed, of nearly twelve thousand men from two strong positions ; but it will, I doubt not, be considered as doubly creditable when I mention that they did it under such disadvantages of heat and fatigue, that a great part of those we lost fell dead as they advanced without a wound."—*Sir Henry Clinton's Despatch.*

on the 3rd, their guides said they were still seven miles from Young's House. They were now much fatigued, having marched all night, with the snow in many places two feet deep. The guns had been left behind, as the horses were unable to drag them on; and the troops were therefore unprovided with the proper requisites for forcing the doors; but, fortunately, they found on their way some axes and an iron crow-bar.

When the detachment had arrived within two miles of the American post, the cavalry were ordered to be ready to cut off the retreat of the men in the house, and to intercept any reinforcements which might be sent to their relief; but, in consequence of the snow, they could only draw up on an eminence at some distance, and look on.

As the flank companies of the Guards advanced to the attack, a detachment of the enemy was perceived marching to reinforce the post, and, from the forced inactivity of our cavalry, effected a junction with the besieged. The Guards, however, pushed on vigorously to the assault, sustaining a heavy fire from the Americans in the house, which was loopholed, and otherwise prepared for a desperate resistance. Lieutenant-Colonel Hall's company ascended the hill on the right, and a party of the Grenadiers inclined to the left, when they came into collision with a number of the enemy stationed in the orchard, which they defended with great courage. The battle was now raging with uncertain success, till at length the rest of the grenadiers of the Guards came up, gallantly led by Colonel Pennington of the Coldstream.* Doors and win-

* In July, 1777, this officer embarked for America in the *Scorpion* sloop, commanded by his friend the Hon. John Tollemache. From some unaccountable caprice, Pennington persisted in whistling as he walked the quarter-deck, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the captain. On their landing at New York in September, these officers fought a duel, which is thus described in a note to Douglas's "*Peerage of Scotland*," vol. i., p. 488:—"The quarrel originated in a sonnet written by Captain Pennington, which Captain Tollemache took up, as reflecting on the supposed wit of his lady. After firing a brace of pistols each without effect, they drew their swords; when Captain Tollemache was run through the heart, and Captain Pennington received seven wounds, so severe that his life was despaired of for some time."

dows were now smashed to pieces ; and the Guards, rushing in, carried the stronghold in gallant style, having killed forty of the enemy, and made ninety prisoners : the rest escaped in the woods, through which the cavalry were unable to pursue them.

At daylight, on the 15th of March, 1781, Lord Cornwallis, with a very inferior force, attacked the American army, drawn up within their lines at Guildford Court-house. After a sharp skirmish, the advance, consisting of the cavalry, the light infantry of the Guards, and the Yagers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, obliged the enemy to retire. In the centre of their first line was an open space ; both flanks extended to the woods, in which infantry were posted behind the fences. Their second line was about three hundred yards in rear of the first. Two brigades of the enemy were also formed in some open ground near the court-house, about four hundred paces in rear of the second line. A corps of observation was posted on the right flank, under Colonel Washington, and a detachment, under Colonel Lee, for the protection of the left.

Preparations being made, the attack on the right was led by the Seventy-first, with the regiment of Bose, supported by the first battalion of the Guards. On the left the Twenty-third and Thirty-third regiments were supported by the grenadier and second battalion of Guards. The light infantry of the Guards and Yagers were posted in the wood on the left of the artillery ; and behind them the cavalry were stationed, in order to take advantage of any circumstances that might occur.

The British troops advanced with steadiness and resolution across the plain ; and, when they had arrived within one hundred and forty yards, the enemy opened their fire ; but the British still moved on in perfect order, reserving theirs till the word of command was given, after which they charged. The enemy did not await the shock, but retreated behind the second line, which made more resistance, and kept up a brisk fire that did great

execution ; but this line also at length gave way. Owing to the extent of the American position, the reserves were brought forward, and the first battalion of Guards immediately formed on the right.* The Thirty-third regiment being exposed to a galling fire, and out-flanked, moved to the left, when the interval was immediately filled by the Grenadiers, the second battalion of the Guards, and the Yagers.

In consequence of this extension of the British front so much to the right and left, broken intervals appeared during the pursuit of the enemy's first and second lines. The whole, however, kept advancing, notwithstanding many impediments from the inequality of the ground, the thickness of the wood, and an obstinate resistance. The second battalion of Guards first gained the open space at Guildford Court-house, and, "glowing with impatience to signalise themselves,"† attacked the Americans, though greatly superior to themselves in number, quickly routed them, and took two six-pounders. Unfortunately, however, whilst in the ardour of pursuit, and in some consequent confusion, they received a destructive fire from a body of Provincials ; and, being charged by Washington's Dragoons, were driven back with much slaughter, and lost the two guns which they had previously captured. The artillery then came up, and opened a fire which checked the pursuit of the Americans. The Seventy-first and Twenty-third regiments at the same time penetrated through the wood. General O'Hara quickly rallied the second battalion of Guards, when the enemy were again defeated, and the two guns retaken. The Americans then commenced their retreat, which was conducted with great regularity ; but the English general was not in a condition to follow up his success, and was obliged to direct his march towards Wilmington, to supply his army with the requisite necessaries.

* "They were warmly engaged in front, flank, and rear, with some of the enemy that had been routed on the first attack."—*Lord Cornwallis's Despatch.*

† Lord Cornwallis's Despatch.

We have thus seen that in every affair in which they were engaged, the Guards, as usual, distinguished themselves ; but it was not in the power of our gallant troops to counteract the designs of Providence. During the year 1776, the British, on the whole, had the advantage. But in the ensuing winter and spring, Washington found means to strengthen and discipline his army ; and, in 1777, a British army, under General Burgoyne, having been surrounded by the American forces, was obliged to lay down its arms at Saratoga. The success of the Americans induced France to join them against Great Britain ; and, in 1778, a French fleet, with troops, was sent to America, which materially assisted in establishing freedom in the New World, and overturning monarchy in the Old. From this period the war was carried on without any remarkable event till October, 1781, when Lord Cornwallis was under the necessity of surrendering himself and his army to General Washington at New York, which brought this disastrous war to a final termination.

Before we enter upon the history of the long, bitter, and destructive war that sprang from the French Revolution, and which, with little intermission, raged for two-and-twenty years, we must briefly notice some matters of a domestic nature, which, though they had no bearing on the destinies of Europe, naturally come within the scope and purpose of this little volume.

The vast metropolis of the British empire has frequently been convulsed by internal commotion, but rarely have such fatal results followed as in the religious riots of the year 1780. The civil power was found to be of no avail at the first outset ; even the Guards were not sufficiently numerous to reduce the multitude to obedience ; and it was not until about twenty additional regiments had arrived that order was at length restored. These riots were occasioned by the removal, by Act of Parliament, of certain restrictions from his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects ; and the people were, by the



THE CATHOLIC RIOTS, 1780.

speeches and writings of designing men, induced to believe that some great national calamity would result from this indulgence. The populace assembled in great numbers near the House of Lords, and insulted many members of Parliament. Their next act was setting fire to a Roman Catholic chapel in Lincoln's-inn-fields, which was the commencement of the work of destruction. The Life Guards were called out ; but while they were proceeding in one direction, havoc was going on in another : and such a scene of uproar, confusion, and destruction followed as cannot be described. The houses, chapels, and schools of the Roman Catholics were soon in flames. Many of the rioters were apprehended, and sent to prison ; but they were afterwards rescued, and the prisons set on fire. The King's Bench Prison, the Fleet Prison, the New Bridewell, St. George's Fields, and the new jail were in flames at the same time ; and on the nights of the 5th and 6th of June, London presented a dreadful scene of conflagration and bloodshed. The military were obliged to act with promptitude and decision, and great numbers of the mob were killed ; while many others, having broken into cellars, and become intoxicated, when the houses were fired, perished in the flames. In these riots seventy-two private houses and four public jails were destroyed ; two hundred and ten men were shot by the military, and about one hundred died of their wounds in the hospitals.

In 1788, a complete alteration was made in the establishment of the corps of Life Guards—of so obvious a nature, indeed, that the wonder is it was not done before. On the 25th of June the two troops of Horse Grenadier Guards, and the two troops of Life Guards, were embodied and formed into regiments of Life Guards. "It being our royal will and pleasure," as stated in his Majesty's warrant, "that our first troop of Horse Guards, now under the command of Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Lothian, shall bear the title of our first regiment of Life Guards, and our second troop of Horse Guards, now under

the command of General Lord Amherst, the title of our second regiment of Life Guards, and shall have the same precedence, respectively, in our service, which they now hold as troops of Horse Guards."

The whole of the officers of the troops of Life Guards continued to hold the same rank in the regiments which they held in the troops, their titles alone being simplified as follows :—

Rank in former Troops.	Rank in the Regiments.
Captain and Colonel	Colonel.
1st Lieut. and Lieut.-Colonel .	Lieutenant-Colonel.
2nd Lieut. and Lieut.-Colonel .	Supernumerary Lieut.-Colonel.
Cornet and Major	Major.
Guidon and Major	Supernumerary Major.
Exempts and Captains	Captains.
Brigadiers and Lieutenants . .	Lieutenants.
Sub-Brigadiers and Cornets . .	Cornets.
Adjutant and Lieutenant . . .	Adjutant and Lieutenant.

The quarter-masters and trumpeters, who were warrant-officers, were also continued without alteration.

Each regiment was divided into four troops of fifty men each ; but a few years later his Majesty added a fifth troop to each regiment of Life Guards, thereby increasing the total establishment to twenty-one commissioned officers, eleven warrant-officers, and two hundred and sixty non-commissioned officers and privates in each regiment. The colonels continued to take the court duty of Gold Stick,* with the privilege of reporting direct to and receiving commands immediately from the sovereign, on subjects connected with the regiments. The management of the clothing, recruiting, and remounting of the regiments, with the application of the funds borne on the establishment, continued to form part of the responsibility of the colonel to the sovereign. The field-officers of the regiments also continued their duty at court of Silver Stick in

* The *Gold Stick in Waiting* is considered responsible for the safety of the royal person: his duty is to see that a sufficient guard is in attendance, and to be always near the sovereign, especially on occasions of state.

The *Silver Stick* is assistant to the Gold Stick.

Waiting, in the performance of which the supernumerary lieutenant-colonels and majors took their turn.

All the horses of the troops of Horse Grenadier Guards, with such of the men as were found eligible, were transferred to the regiments of Life Guards. The recruiting of men was ordered to be by enlistment and attestation, instead of the former practice of purchasing the appointment and holding it by indenture; and the corporals and privates, not having to purchase their appointments, nor to provide their own horses or forage, were placed on a lower rate of pay—namely, corporals two shillings, and privates one shilling and sixpence per day. The greater part of the private gentlemen of the former troops did not continue to serve in the new regiments of Life Guards. About this period, also, the King directed that the battalion officers of the Foot Guards and line should use swords instead of espontoons.

In May, 1789, a duel took place in the Coldstream Guards, which, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, and the high rank of the parties concerned, excited a more than ordinary share of public attention. The principals in this affair were his Royal Highness the Duke of York, who had succeeded Lord Waldegrave in the command of the Coldstream, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, afterwards Duke of Richmond; and we extract the following particulars from Colonel Mackinnon's History of the Regiment:—

“The dispute originated in an observation made by his Royal Highness, that Colonel Lennox had been addressed by an individual at the club at Daubigny's in a manner that no gentleman ought to permit. The observation being reported to Colonel Lennox, he took the opportunity on parade to inquire of his Royal Highness what were the words which he had submitted to hear, and by whom they were spoken: to this his Royal Highness gave no other answer than by ordering the colonel to his post. The parade being over, his Royal Highness went into the orderly-room, and sent for Colonel Lennox; when

he intimated to him, in the presence of the officers of the Coldstream, that he desired to derive no protection either from his rank as a prince, or his situation as a commanding officer; and that, when off duty, he wore a brown coat, and was ready as a private individual to give Colonel Lennox the satisfaction required by one gentleman from another.

“After this declaration, Colonel Lennox wrote a circular to every member of Daubigny’s club, requesting them to inform him whether the words, as stated, had been addressed to him, and desiring an answer from each member by the following morning; adding that he should consider their silence on the subject as an acknowledgment that no such words could be recollected. After the time named for an answer to his circular letter, Colonel Lennox sent a written message to the following purport:—‘That not being able to recollect any occasion on which words were used towards him at Daubigny’s that ought not to be addressed to a gentleman, he had taken the step which appeared most likely to gain information on the subject to which his Royal Highness had made allusion, and of the party by whom they had been used; that none of the members of the club had afforded him any information, and, consequently, that no such insult had been offered him to their knowledge; and therefore he expected, in justice to his character, that his Royal Highness would contradict the report as publicly as it had been asserted by his Royal Highness.’ This letter was delivered to the Duke of York the same day by the Earl of Winchilsea; but his Royal Highness’s answer not proving satisfactory, a message was sent by Colonel Lennox to appoint a meeting. The time and place were then settled.

“The following is the account given by the seconds of the affair. In consequence of this misunderstanding, his Royal Highness the Duke of York, attended by Lord Rawdon, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, accompanied by the Earl of Winchilsea, met at Wimbledon Common.

The ground was measured, twelve paces, and both parties were to fire together. Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox's ball grazed his Royal Highness's curl; but the Duke of York did not fire. Lord Rawdon then interfered, and said he thought enough had been done; when Colonel Lennox observed, that his Royal Highness had not fired. Lord Rawdon replied, 'It was not the intention of the Duke of York to fire: his Royal Highness entertained no animosity against Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, and had only come out on his invitation to give him satisfaction.' Colonel Lennox wished the Duke to fire, which was declined, with a repetition of the reason. Lord Winchilsea then expressed a hope that his Royal Highness would not object to say he considered Colonel Lennox a man of courage and honour. His Royal Highness replied, 'that he should say no such thing: he had come out with the intention of giving Colonel Lennox the satisfaction he demanded, but did not mean to fire at him. If Colonel Lennox was not satisfied, he might have another shot.' Colonel Lennox declared that he could not possibly fire again, as his Royal Highness did not mean to return it. The seconds signed a paper, stating that 'both parties behaved with the most perfect coolness and intrepidity.'

"Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox called a meeting of the officers of the Coldstream, to deliberate and give their opinion, whether in the late dispute he had behaved as became an officer and a gentleman. After much discussion, they came to the following resolution:—'It is the opinion of the Coldstream Regiment that, subsequently to the 15th of May, the day of the meeting at the orderly-room, Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox has behaved with courage; but, from the peculiar difficulty of his situation, not with judgment.'"

The close of the American War occasioned a considerable reduction in the British army; but the great moral earthquake which soon after convulsed not only France, but the whole continent of Europe, called not only for its restoration to its former establishment, but for a nume-

rical increase unprecedented at any former period of its history. The French Revolution commenced in 1789; and though, in the first instance, it was looked upon in this country as a generous effort on the part of a long-oppressed and suffering people to conquer their freedom, yet opinions began to change, when the struggles of demagogues for power imparted to it a different aspect. In the course of three or four years, the French had not only overturned the government and religion of the state, but put their king to death on a scaffold, and declared themselves the enemies of royalty all over the world.

Proceedings such as these rendered it necessary for the neighbouring Governments to guard against their furious designs. In 1792, Austria and Prussia took up arms; but Britain, though she did not acknowledge the French Republic, remained passive till news arrived of the murder of the King, in January, 1793, when the French agent was ordered instantly to quit the country. On the 1st February, France declared war against Britain; and the French troops having invaded the Netherlands, a British army, under the Duke of York, was sent to join the Austrians and Prussians. The important services required of the Life Guards in the metropolis, and near the royal person, prevented their being employed on foreign service at this early period of the war; but the Oxford Blues and the first battalions of the three regiments of Foot Guards received orders to prepare for embarkation, and all their companies were completed. The Grenadiers were formed into a separate battalion, under Colonel Leigh, of the Third Guards, and Major-General Lake was appointed to command the Brigade. They embarked at Greenwich on the 25th of February, in presence of the Royal Family, and joined the army under the Duke of York, near Tournay, on the 25th of April.

On the 8th of May, the French troops under General Dampierre attacked the allied posts occupied by General Clairfait, extending from the Scheldt to the Abbaye de Vicagne, and the Prussian corps, which defended the

wood in front of the high road leading from that place to St. Amand.

To these points were directed the whole efforts of the French army, which had been previously reinforced by all they could bring together from every quarter. General Knoblesdorf having been under the necessity of sending a considerable part of his troops to support the Austrians at the Abbaye de Vicagne, the Duke of York, leaving two battalions of the Guards in the camp at Maulde, marched with the Coldstream, the flank battalion, and part of the 3rd Guards, to the support of the Prussian general. The Coldstream was moved towards the wood of Vicagne, from which the Austrians had been three times successively repulsed, with the loss of one thousand seven hundred men; and for the Coldstream was reserved the honour of attempting, with six hundred rank and file, what five thousand Austrians had not been able to accomplish—viz., to dislodge the French from their entrenchments in the forest. When the Coldstream arrived, the enemy had nearly reached the road: they already commanded it, to a great degree, by their fire; but the guns attached to the battalion were placed upon it, and, by a well-directed and well-supported fire, kept the battery which was opposed to them in check, and did considerable execution. The battalion then advanced into the wood, attacked and drove the enemy before them; but in going forward a tremendous fire was opened upon them, within pistol-shot, by guns wheeled from a battery concealed in the bushes and underwood of the forest. On passing a temporary bridge, over a broad ditch, the two right companies lost, in ten minutes, more than half their numbers. So sudden was their onset that the last division had scarcely crossed the hedgerow separating the *chaussée* from the wood, when the two leading companies found themselves under this destructive fire. They fell back to their position at the edge of the wood, which they maintained for the rest of the day, notwithstanding a heavy cannonade. In this action, in which

Clairfait compelled the French to retreat, General Dampierre lost his leg by a cannon-ball, and died next day.

A day or two after, the Coldstream Guards, who bore the brunt of the attack, were thanked in general orders by his Royal Highness.

Condé was now blockaded ; and, previous to the investment of Valenciennes, it was necessary to attack the fortified camp of Famars.

On the 23rd of May, the Duke of York led the first column, consisting of sixteen battalions of English, including the Guards, with some Hanoverian and Austrian troops. After a cannonade, a simultaneous attack was made on the French by the English and Austrians, and the French were driven from the camp of Famars, which was occupied by the English and Hanoverians. This success enabled the Prince of Coburg to complete the investment of Valenciennes, the siege of which was intrusted to the Duke of York, who carried it on with great vigour.

About ten o'clock on the night of the 2nd of June, a working party of the Guards and a party of the line began the intrenchments ; and on the 25th of July, a practicable breach being effected, the Duke ordered the English and Austrians to make a general assault. The storming-party consisted of one hundred and fifty men of the Guards, and the same number from the line, under Major-General Abercrombie. The troops being in readiness, the first mine was sprung, then a second and a third, within the space of a few minutes. After the third mine was sprung, the troops rushed in with the greatest impetuosity, and jumped over the palisades, carrying all before them at the point of the bayonet ; the enemy, after a stout resistance, leaving the works in possession of the victors. The town capitulated on the 28th, and was taken possession of by the Duke of York, in the name of the Emperor of Germany.

On the 29th, a reinforcement of about six hundred men from England joined the brigade of Guards ; amongst

these were three light-infantry companies, one for each of the regiments.

At a council of war, held in August, it was agreed, contrary to the opinion of the Prince of Coburg and of General Clairfait, that the army under the Duke of York should separate from the Austrians. The British, in consequence, broke up, and marched on their route to Dunkirk, the siege of that fortress having been determined on, for the purpose of replacing it under the dominion of England.

The French having driven the Dutch troops from Lincelles, which they had occupied by an order from the Prince of Orange, Major-General Lake was directed, with three battalions—the 1st, the Coldstream, and the 3rd Guards—to assist the Dutch troops in re-capturing that place; but the latter had retreated by a different road from that taken by the Guards in their advance. Notwithstanding this circumstance, and the decided superiority of the enemy, Lake made his preparations, and formed under a heavy fire; in the midst of which he attacked a redoubt of unusual size and strength, situated on high ground in front of Lincelles. The woods were strongly defended by the enemy, and their flanks were covered by ditches. The column was led by the 1st Guards, which deployed with great celerity, the Coldstream forming on the left. The line then advanced amidst a shower of grape, and, after two volleys, made a furious charge with the bayonet, stormed the works, and dispersed the enemy, who attempted to rally, but in vain. The Coldstream lost Lieutenant-Colonel Bosville in this action;* and all three regiments bear the name “Lincelles” on their colours, in token of their gallantry on the occasion.

On the 22nd of August the Duke of York took up the ground which he intended to occupy during the siege of

* It is said that Lieutenant-Colonel Bosville's death was owing to his extraordinary height, being six feet four inches high. He was shot in the forehead.

Dunkirk ; but early in September General Houchard arrived with strong reinforcements for that place ; and having defeated General Walmoden in the battle of Hendtschoote, the Duke was obliged to abandon the siege, and withdraw his troops ; while the gallant Houchard was guillotined by the atrocious Jacobins, who were then all-powerful in Paris, because, forsooth, he did not drive the English into the sea.

The remainder of the campaign displayed nothing worthy of particular notice ; and in December the brigade of Guards moved to Ghent, where they passed the winter.

CHAPTER XI.

Reinforcements for the Guards sent from England—Successful Operations—The Guards distinguish themselves—Siege and Surrender of Landrecies—Overwhelming Numbers and successful Career of the French under Pichegru—Dreadful Retreat of the English Army through Germany—Expedition to the Helder—Its unfavourable Termination—Expedition to Egypt joined by a Brigade of Guards—Battle of the Landing in Aboukir Bay—Attack of the French Lines—Battle of Alexandria—Surrender of the French Troops, and Return of the British to England—Expedition to Portugal—Battle of Vimiero—Convention of Cintra—The 1st Foot Guards under Sir John Moore—Retreat to Corunna—Dreadful Sufferings of the Troops—Battle of Corunna.

EARLY in the following year, a reinforcement of eight hundred men arrived in Holland for the brigade of Guards ; and the Household Troops in that country had also been increased some months before by four troops of the Oxford Blues. It was decided in a council of war assembled at Ath that the command of the allies should be given to the Emperor of Germany, who proceeded accordingly to Valenciennes, and on the heights above Cateau reviewed the whole army, amounting to one hundred and eighty-seven thousand men, Austrians, British, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Hessians.

On the following day, April 17, a general and successful attack was made upon the enemy's positions at Vaux, Premont, Marets, Catillon, &c. ; and Landrecies was

immediately invested. The Duke of York commanded the right wing of the covering army during the siege.

On the 23rd, the Duke of York drove the enemy from Cæsar's Camp, near Cambray ; and on the 26th his Royal Highness completely defeated, with great slaughter, near Troixville, a corps of 30,000 men, under General Chapuy, who attacked his position, with a view of raising the siege of Landrecies. On this occasion, the Oxford Blues and the four battalions of Foot Guards greatly distinguished themselves. Thirty-five pieces of cannon were the fruits of this victory, with three hundred prisoners, amongst whom was General Chapuy himself. The loss of the British was also severe, including General Mansel and his son, who were both killed.*

Landrecies surrendered on the 30th ; and on the 10th of May, the French, to the number of 30,000, under Pichegru, made a furious attack on the Duke near Tournay ; when General Harcourt charged them with sixteen squadrons of British (including the Oxford Blues) and two of Austrian cavalry ; and having succeeded in gaining their flank, attacked them so gallantly that they retreated and soon fell into confusion. The Hanoverians, who occupied a position to the right of the British, had in the mean time repulsed an attack which was made upon them, and the discomfiture of the French army was complete.

In this action, the Oxford Blues being in position near the Lille road, having the village of Baizieu on its right and a little to the rear, a French six-pounder, with four horses, drivers, and some men mounted on the limbers, was observed attempting to escape from Baizieu, in the direction of Lille ; upon which General Dundas ordered Lieutenant Sir Charles Turner of the Blues, with two file

* The death of General Mansel arose from an acute sense of honour. In a previous action on the 24th, the defeat of the enemy was not so complete as it ought to have been, owing to some mistake, by which General Mansel's brigade did not arrive in time to give efficient support to the Light Dragoons and Hussars. On the 26th, unable to bear the imputation which remained upon his character, this unfortunate officer is said to have declared that " he would not return alive ;" and, rushing into the action with all the energy of reckless despair, sought his fate in the midst of the enemy's ranks.

of his men, to take possession of it. This was instantly done, and the gun was safely lodged in the rear.

A few moments after, a French officer, apparently of some distinction, mounted upon a grey charger, was seen crossing the right of the regiment, somewhat in front ; when Joseph White, one of the troopers who had been in pursuit of the gun, and was the first who came up to and turned the horses' heads, elated with his success, put spurs to his horse, galloped forward, and summoned the French officer to surrender. The latter turned upon him with contemptuous fury, and a deadly combat ensued between them, which lasted for several minutes, in sight of the regiment, and was terminated by the death of the Frenchman, White having run his sword through his body. The victor dismounted ; and having taken from his opponent two watches, his purse, and pocket-book, as trophies of his victory, rejoined his troop, having himself escaped unhurt in the encounter, though his horse had received several severe cuts.*

But the immense superiority of numbers which the French were enabled to bring into the field at length compelled the British army to retire ; and the reluctance of the Dutch to make any sacrifices to defend their territories becoming daily more apparent, the Duke of York was unable effectually to resist the advances of the enemy. The conquest of Holland by the French was the consequence ; and it was much facilitated by the severity of the winter of 1794-5, during the severest part of which the British army retreated through Germany.

The sufferings of the Guards, and of the army in general, during this retreat, were of the most serious description. The state of the sick and wounded was dreadful ; many

* In the year 1804, when the regiment was at Windsor, White, who had been promoted, was one of the four orderly corporals that waited in turn at the castle to receive the King's orders. The King (George III.) having heard that Corporal White had a French officer's watch in his possession, requested to see it, and when produced, his Majesty expressed his delight, inquiring whether the owner would part with it. White, however, with due submission, expressed his unwillingness to do so, and the King told him he had no wish to press him, as its possession did him honour.

of them were frozen in the waggons, and perished. The 16th of January was a day peculiarly memorable for the hardships and distress endured by the troops on their retreat to Deventer. The men had marched at the usual hour, and about three in the afternoon reached Welaw, where it was intended to halt for the night; but circumstances were such as to make it necessary to prolong the march fifteen miles further. The troops, besides suffering from the severity of the weather and from fatigue, had obtained no rations during the day. The march was continued for about four miles over a sandy desert, where the wind, being excessively high, carried with it drifted snow and sand with such violence that the human frame could hardly resist its power. The cold was intense: the water collected in the eyes of the men congealed as it fell, and hung in icicles from their eyelashes; the breath froze and lodged in incrustations of ice about the face, and on the blankets and coats wrapped round the soldiers. Numbers of men and women, after dark, lost sight of the column, and slept to wake no more.

Between ten and eleven at night the troops at length reached Buekborge, where the houses were already filled with Hessian soldiers, who opposed their admission in almost every instance; and it was only obtained at last by force or stealth. But notwithstanding one of the most fatiguing and distressing marches ever experienced, the retreating army succeeded in conveying to Deventer all their ammunition, artillery, and military stores of every description. Fifty thousand French were eager in pursuit; and the English quitted Deventer only two days before it was entered by the enemy.

During this distressing retreat, nearly all the marches were made through roads covered with ice or snow, mud or water. At length the British crossed the Vecht and the Ems; and on the 24th of February they were overtaken by a portion of the French troops; but they displayed such courage and firmness that the efforts of the

enemy to interrupt them were unavailing. The army, therefore, continued to retreat till it reached Bremen on the 28th of March, where it was joined by the two flank battalions. At this place, head-quarters and the brigade of Guards were stationed.

From their manner of living, and the abundant supplies furnished to British troops by the commissariat department, they are seldom exposed to great privations. But when the want of food or clothing is experienced as it was in this campaign, or when the men, without sufficient shelter, are subject to hardships from the inclemency of the seasons, they generally bear those evils in a manner that evinces the superiority of the British soldier. The troops having behaved, throughout the campaigns of 1793 and 1794, with a spirit that did them infinite credit, and especially during the hardships of this arduous retreat, finally embarked on board transports at the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, and returned to England.

In 1799 the Austrians again went to war with France, and were joined by the Russians ; and many bloody engagements took place in the north of Italy and Switzerland. To favour the operations of the allies, a British army under Sir Ralph Abercromby, including a brigade of Guards under Major-General Burrard, was sent to Holland : it landed at the Helder, and, being joined by a Russian force, the command was taken by the Duke of York. The allied troops defeated the French and Dutch in several engagements ; but the campaign of 1799, like those of 1793, 1794, and 1795, in the Low Countries, produced no favourable effect upon the general results of the war. The troops maintained their high character for gallantry, and the Guards distinguished themselves on several occasions ; but the issue of the whole was a determination to withdraw from a country where not a man took up arms in favour of the house of Orange. It would have been dangerous to attempt to re-embark in face of the French army ; but, on the other hand, the allies, concentrated in their intrenchments within the Helder

Point, had it in their power to cut the dykes, which would devastate the country. A convention was therefore signed on the 18th of October, which provided that the British and Russian army should embark as soon as possible, without committing any injury; and that eight thousand French and Dutch prisoners of war, then detained in England, should be restored unconditionally to their respective countries.

But a short space, as usual, was given to the Guards for relaxation in their native land: a brigade, under Major-General Ludlow, having, towards the end of the year 1800, joined the army in the Mediterranean, under Sir Ralph Abercromby. This expedition, after remaining some time on the coast of Asia Minor, sailed, on the 22nd of February, 1801, from the Bay of Marmorice, with the daring purpose of wresting Egypt from the grasp of that celebrated Army of Italy, whose achievements in Europe had filled the civilised world with admiration and astonishment.

The veteran comrades of Bonaparte, notwithstanding the losses they had sustained in their contests with the Turks and Mamelukes, were still greatly superior in number to the troops under Abercromby: they were, besides, in possession of the resources of the country, and of all its strongholds, which had been fortified with the utmost care and skill. Eighteen months' occupation had inured the French to the burning suns of Egypt, which had become their adopted country, and they confidently prepared to repel the meditated attack. The British were strangers to that ungenial climate, and laboured under all the debilitating consequences of a protracted voyage, and long confinement on ship-board; but, without pausing to calculate disadvantages, they cheerfully proceeded to accomplish their country's errand.

On the 2nd of March, the whole fleet entered Aboukir Bay, the men-of-war bringing up exactly in the place where the battle of the Nile had been fought. The weather was unfavourable for a landing till the 8th,

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when, at two o'clock in the morning, the first division, consisting of the brigade of Guards under Major-General Ludlow, the Royals, the 54th, and some detachments, the whole being under the command of Major-General Coote, got into the boats and pushed off for their rendezvous, some hundred paces from the shore. Each flank was protected by light armed vessels, and several bombs and gun-brigs were moored with their broadsides to the beach. About two thousand French were advantageously posted on a ridge of sand-hills, with an elevated hillock in their centre, crowned with a battery of twelve pieces of cannon, which, as well as the guns of the castle of Aboukir, commanded the landing-place.

At nine o'clock, the signal was given, the boats started forward, while the men-of-war opened their batteries, and the bomb-vessels commenced throwing shells. The cannonade from the shipping was promptly returned by the French lines and the castle of Aboukir; while, under a furious discharge of shot and shells, and a torrent of grape and musketry, the regiments swept onwards towards the beach, the sailors struggling in noble emulation to be the first to reach the shore. Amidst the enthusiastic cheering of both services, the beach was at length gained, the soldiers jumped into the surf, formed as they cleared the water, and rushed boldly up the sand-hills, from which the enemy were speedily driven by the 23rd, the 40th, and the 42nd. The Guards were charged in the very act of landing by a body of French Dragoons; but the 58th regiment, which had already formed on the right, opened a fire, under cover of which the Guards were enabled to show front, when the enemy's cavalry were repulsed with heavy loss. The British had now possession of the heights, the remainder of the troops were landed, and the whole moving forward, the enemy retreated with the loss of four hundred men, that of the British amounting to seven hundred and forty.

On the 9th, the British troops were ordered to make a forward movement, the Guards leading the first column,



LANDING AT ABOUKIR 1801.

and some skirmishing daily occurring between the advanced posts. On the 12th, the British bivouac was at the town of Mandora, and on the 13th Sir Ralph moved forward to attack the enemy, who occupied a strong position on a rising ground, their right extending towards the canal of Alexandria, their left to the sea. The French, having received reinforcements from Cairo and Rosetta, had increased their strength to about thirty guns, and six thousand men, including cavalry.

Abercromby, whose troops were in two lines, formed them into columns of battalions, left in front, with the intention of attacking the enemy's right. When the British advanced, the French moved down from their position, and directed a spirited fire of musketry and artillery on the 92nd regiment. The enemy's cavalry at the same time charged the extreme right, Latour Maubourg leading the Dragoons at a gallop; but a close and shattering volley from the 90th obliged them to swerve from their course along the front of their regiment, and retreat with a heavy loss, a few of the leading files being bayoneted in a desperate effort to break through. The English then formed in two lines, the reserve in column on the right, the Guards supporting the centre; while Generals Stuart's and Doyle's brigades moved in column in rear of the left. All preserving the greatest order, steadily advanced, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry; and the French were forced to retire through a plain of three miles to their lines in front of Alexandria, a position which Abercromby made a fruitless attempt to carry by a *coup-de-main*.

A strong position was now taken by Sir Ralph about four miles from Alexandria, with the sea on his right flank and the Lake Mareotis on the left.* In front of the centre a considerable plain extended as far as the elevated ground on which the enemy had entrenched

* On the 14th, Lieutenant-Colonel Brice of the Coldstream Guards, who commanded the piquets, when going his rounds, was deceived by a *mirage*; and coming unexpectedly on an enemy's post, he received a wound, of which he died the third day, a prisoner.

themselves. The 28th and 58th regiments were posted among some ancient ruins and redoubts on the right, supported by the 23rd, 40th, 42nd, and the Corsican Rangers. Between the right and the right centre, occupied by the Guards on a rising ground, was a flat, on which there were some cavalry. On the left of the Guards, the 92nd, 54th, 1st, 8th, 18th, 90th, and 13th regiments were stationed *en echelon*, ready, if necessary, to form on the Guards. The second line was composed of the regiments of Minorea, De Rolle's, Dillon's, the Queen's, 44th, 89th, 12th, and the 26th Dragoons. The French position stretched along a ridge of lofty hills, extending from the sea on one side to the canal of Alexandria on the other. Pompey's Pillar showed boldly on the right; Cleopatra's needle on the left; while Alexandria appeared in the background, with its walls extending to the sea; and, at the extremity of a long low neck of land, the ancient Pharos was visible.

An hour before day, on the morning of the 21st of March, General Menou, with his army increased to thirteen thousand men, and about equal to the English, made a false attack on the left; but the report of musketry soon announced that the right was the point he really intended to assault. The British, with great composure, awaited the approach of the enemy, who advanced with loud huzzas and drums beating; but Colonels Paget and Houstoun, whose regiments held the key of the position, would not permit a shot to be fired till they were close at hand, when a well-sustained fusilade was kept up, until the enemy's column, unable to bear the quick and well-directed musketry of the British, retired into a hollow for shelter. The enemy then re-forming, wheeled to their right to turn the flank of the redoubt, while a second column attacked in front, and a third penetrated the ruins before mentioned. At this moment, the 58th, after two or three rounds, rushed on them with the bayonet. The 23rd now came to support the 58th, while the 42nd moved round the exterior of the ruins, cutting off the

French retreat; and of the enemy all who entered the redoubt were killed or taken prisoners.

In relieving the 28th and 58th, who were assailed simultaneously, on their front, flanks and rear, the 42nd, becoming exposed to a desperate charge of cavalry, fought furiously hand to hand, and opposed their bayonets fearlessly to the sabres of the French. The flank companies of the 40th, immediately beside them, dared not, for a time, deliver their fire, the combatants were so intermingled in the *mêlée*. At this moment, General Stuart brought up the foreign brigade in beautiful order, and their heavy and well-sustained fusilade decided the fate of the day. Nothing could withstand it, and the enemy fled or perished. It was at this critical moment that Sir Ralph Abercromby received his mortal wound.*

The French, though driven from the camp, still maintained the battle on the right and in the centre. There the attack had commenced at day-break; a column of Grenadiers, supported by a heavy line of infantry, furiously assailing the Guards. Observing the *echelon* formation of the British, the French General instantly attempted to turn their left; but the officer commanding on that flank as promptly prevented it, by throwing some companies sharply back; and these, pouring in a close fire of musketry, obliged the enemy to give way and retire. Finding the attack in column fail, the French broke into extended order, and opened a scattered fusilade, while every gun that could be brought to bear by their artillery was turned upon the English position. But all was vain; though suffering heavily from this murderous fire, the formation of the Guards was coolly corrected when disturbed by the cannonade; while the fine and imposing attitude of these regiments removed all hope that they

* A curious incident occurred immediately afterwards. An aide-de-camp of General Craddock, in carrying orders, had his horse killed, and begged permission of Sir Sydney Smith to mount a horse belonging to his orderly Dragoon. As Sir Sydney was turning round to give the order to dismount, a cannon-shot took off the poor fellow's head. "That settles the question," said the admiral; "Major, the horse is at your service."

could be shaken, and prevented any renewal of the attack.

Menou's attempts had all been signally defeated. He perceived that the British lines had sustained no impression that would justify a continuation of the attack: he accordingly moved off his brigades in excellent order; and though they retired within easy range of cannon-shot, a total want of ammunition kept the English batteries silent, and the French march was effected with little molestation. The loss of the English in the battle of Alexandria was fourteen hundred and sixty-four men; and between three and four thousand French were left on the field, killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The day after the battle, the following general order was issued by Lord Hutchinson, who succeeded to the command:—"Major-General Ludlow and the brigade of Guards will accept the thanks of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the cool, steady, and soldier-like manner in which they repulsed the attack of the enemy's column."

After a few subsequent movements, of little interest in themselves, the garrison of Alexandria, amounting to nearly twelve thousand men, surrendered on the 1st of September. The other division of the French army having surrendered at Cairo, the enemy were no longer in possession of any part of Egypt. The object of the expedition being thus attained, the keys of Alexandria were delivered to the Captain Pacha, and the army shortly after embarked for England.*

The Treaty of Amiens put an end to hostilities, in

* It was during this campaign that there was presented to the admiration of the world such a spectacle as for countless ages had not been witnessed before, in the march across the Desert of nearly twenty thousand Sepoys, whom Sir David Baird led from the remotest provinces of India to aid in the expulsion of the French from Egypt. Unfortunately for themselves, these well-disciplined Asiatics did not arrive in time to participate in the dangers and glory of the campaign; but the promptitude with which, at the invitation of their English officers, they encountered the horrors of a sea-voyage, and, which was to them scarcely less frightful, the inconveniences attendant on the passage of the Desert, proved that the best spirit prevailed among the native troops; and that, when kindly treated and judiciously dealt with, they were ready to follow whithersoever their chiefs might lead.—*Gleig*,

March, 1802. This event caused great joy throughout the nation ; but it was soon found that Bonaparte did not wish the peace to be lasting. Disputes arose as to the fulfilment of the treaty ; the First Consul's demands were so unreasonable that Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador, was recalled, and a vigorous renewal of the war was voted by immense majorities in both Houses of Parliament.

Between this and the Peninsular War, the Foot Guards were employed on two or three occasions abroad ; but their services were not of a nature to call for any particular notice. In 1805, the English Government, by way of a diversion in favour of Austria, sent a force of twenty-six thousand men, including a brigade of the Guards, to North Germany ; but the result of the battle of Austerlitz having baffled the hopes of Austria, Russia, and England, the British troops returned without striking a blow or seeing an enemy. In 1807, the Government of Denmark, which had hitherto observed a strict neutrality, prohibited, under French influence, all commerce with Great Britain ; and an expedition, under Lord Cathcart and Admiral Gambier, was fitted out to prevent the Danish navy from passing into the hands of the French. A brigade of Guards accompanied this expedition ; which, it is sufficient for our present purpose to say, was successful, by effecting the unconditional surrender of the Danish navy to England.

It is not within the scope or limits of this little volume to enter into a detailed narrative of the affairs of the Peninsula prior to our occupation of Portugal : it will be sufficient to say that, in the year 1808, Bonaparte having swindled the King of Spain out of his crown, and placed his brother Joseph on the throne, the conduct of the French became so oppressive that it roused the people to a general insurrection. They formed temporary governments in every province, and requested assistance from England. An army was immediately sent to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley, who defeated the French at

Vimiero, on the 21st of August ; but the fruits of the victory were lost by the Convention of Cintra, concluded by Sir Hew Dalrymple (who had arrived and taken the command immediately after the battle), in consequence of which the French troops, instead of being obliged to surrender, were conveyed to France in English ships, and with all their plunder !

The particulars of this shameful treaty excited such universal indignation in England, that Sir Hew Dalrymple was immediately recalled ; while his colleague, Sir Harry Burrard, resigned, under the plea of ill-health, and returned home. Sir Arthur Wellesley had already gone to England, and the command of the army devolved on Sir John Moore.

The British Cabinet being determined to foster the national feeling of the Spaniards, and by munificent supplies, and the presence of an English army, to stimulate them to assert their lost liberty, and fling off a yoke no longer tolerable, a force of twenty thousand men was directed to be assembled at Valladolid ; and a reinforcement of thirteen thousand, under Sir David Baird, was despatched from England to join them : the whole were to be placed under the orders of Sir John Moore. After various unforeseen delays, Sir John Moore was joined on the 20th of December, at Mayorga, by Baird's division, making a united force of twenty-three thousand five hundred infantry (including the 1st Foot Guards), two thousand four hundred cavalry, and an artillery of nearly fifty guns.

The weather continuing bad, the troops were a good deal knocked up by forced marching, and Sir John halted on the 22nd and 23rd for supplies, intending on the morrow to attack Soult, whose corps, amounting to sixteen thousand infantry and twelve hundred Dragoons, occupied Saldanha and Sahagun. All dispositions were made for the intended attack, when couriers arrived with heavy tidings. The French were moving in all directions to cut the English off. A corps which had been march-

ing south was suddenly halted at Talavera ; two strong divisions were moving from Placentia ; the Badajoz army was in full march on Salamanca, and Napoleon himself, in the field, determined, as it was reported, to sweep the British before him to the ocean.

A retreat from such overwhelming forces was inevitable, and it accordingly commenced on the 24th of December, in the direction of Galicia. The British reached Astorga on the 30th, and their appearance was already most disheartening ; for long marches, cold and tempestuous weather, bad roads, a poor commissariat, and the idea of fleeing from an enemy, had made terrible havoc amongst them, both moral and physical. Repeated attacks of the enemy were checked, especially at Cacabelos and Villa Franca ; and as the country was now rough, hilly, and wooded, the cavalry was sent forward to Lugo, the infantry and artillery following. The distance was forty miles, and occupied a day and a night, a period never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. Hunger, withering cold, despair, frenzy, death, did their worst amongst that flying and disorganised crowd of soldiers, women, and children. Discipline there was none ; drunkenness and robbery were unchecked ; oaths, prayers, and the moans of the dying were commingled. Horrible scenes momentarily occurred—children frozen in their mothers' arms, women taken in labour, and, of course, perishing with their ill-fated progeny. Some were trying by the madness of intoxication to stimulate their worn-out frames to fresh exertion ; or, when totally exhausted, to soothe the agonies of the slow but certain death which cold and hunger must inevitably produce before the dawning of another sun.*

* "A few were got away, but many were so tired and lame from sore feet that they did not care if the French sabres and bayonets were at their breasts, so completely did most of them give themselves up to despair. The rear-guard was at length forced to retire, and leave those unfortunate people to their fate. Some of these poor fellows who had thought better of it, and were endeavouring to overtake their countrymen, were unmercifully sabred by the French cavalry, many of them in a defenceless state."—*Cadell*.

"The corps which suffered the least from straggling were the Artillery, the Guards, and the Reserve. To use Sir John's own words, 'The Artillery con-

The French, though checked by the light troops, continued to harass the British rear-guard ; indeed, the marvel was that Soult did not bring the matter to a close by some decisive action. At Constantino and Lugo it appeared probable that he would have done so ; but no hostile movement was made at the latter place, and it was prepared against and defeated at the former.

Through a frightful storm of hail and wind the British marched on bravely from Lugo to Betanzos, where they arrived on the 10th of January, 1809, and here the exhausted soldiery were halted from sheer necessity till evening, resting as they best could on the wet and muddy earth, under a soaking rain.* Although the whole of the 10th was passed at Betanzos, to allow stragglers to rejoin their regiments, no serious attempt was made by the enemy to embarrass the remainder of the march, and the leading division reached Corunna at noon on the 11th, while the reserve occupied the adjoining villages, and the remaining brigades took up their quarters in the suburbs.

The position of Corunna was not a good one, particularly to an enfeebled army inadequate to its extent ; but Sir John Moore made out the best he could, selecting, after a close examination, the neighbourhood of the village of Elvina, whereon to make a stand. It was accordingly marked out, and the brigades moved to their allotted posts. On the 14th the artillery had ceased on both sides, an unusual quiet ensued, and nothing seemed likely to produce any immediate excitement, when the explosion of four thousand barrels of gunpowder burst upon the astonished ear. The unexpected and tremendous crash seemed for the moment to have deprived every person of reason and recol-

sists of particularly well-behaved men ; the Guards are the strongest body of men in the army, and consequently suffered less from fatigue ; besides, they are strictly disciplined, and their non-commissioned officers are excellent."—*Cadell*.

* "We bivouacked on the heights above Betanzos. Here we met with a godsend for the night. Just as we had taken up our ground, we found a number of waggons laden with dry bullocks' skins, on their way to Corunna ; we made beds of some and covering of others, which gave us for once a dry sleep."—*Cadell*,

lection : the soldiers flew to their arms ; nor was it until a tremendous column of smoke, ascending from the heights in front, marked from whence the astounding shock proceeded, that reason resumed its sway. It is impossible ever to forget the sublime appearance of the dark dense cloud of smoke that ascended, shooting up gradually like a gigantic tower into the clear blue sky. It appeared fettered in one enormous mass ; nor did a particle of dust or vapour, obscuring its form, seem to escape as it rolled upwards in majestic circles.*

On the 15th of January the British fleet at length hove in sight, and preparations were made to embark. The sick and wounded, the women and children, the artillery stores and dismounted cavalry, were sent on board, none but the infantry being now left, and of these such only as were effective.

On the 16th all was quiet, the embarkation was proceeding, and Sir John Moore was about to visit the outposts for the last time, when it was announced that the French were under arms. This was confirmed by a fusilade between the French *tirailleurs* and English piquets. Four columns advanced, two upon the right, one upon the centre, and the fourth threatening the left of the line. The right, consisting of the 4th, 42nd, and 50th, supported by the Guards, was fiercely attacked, and for a short time the enemy was in possession of Elvina ; but the 50th soon after recovered it at the point of the bayonet. The action was now becoming general along the line. The 42nd and a battalion of the Guards, by a brilliant charge, drove back the French ; and, failing to force, Soult endeavoured to turn the British right, by marching a column to its rear ; but this was repulsed with heavy loss by the reserve.

While the 42nd were lowering their bayonets, and Sir John Moore was encouraging the charge, a round shot

* Leith Hay. This gunpowder had been sent from England for the use of the Spaniards, and was destroyed to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy.

knocked him from his horse, shattering his left arm at the shoulder. Sir David Baird had been wounded and removed just before. But the fall of their generals produced no serious results. The officers commanding their different battalions fought their regiments gallantly : the dispositions for the engagement were simple and understood ; the attempts upon the left and centre were repulsed ; and the French, beaten on every point, fell back as night came on.

No further attempt was made by the enemy. The brigades were removed after dark. Their gallant but unfortunate general was buried on the rampart of the citadel, the embarkation continued, and on the afternoon of the 17th the whole fleet was under weigh, steering for England with a leading wind.

CHAPTER XII.

A Brigade of Guards embark for the Peninsula—Refused at Cadiz and proceed to Portugal—State of Affairs in that Country—Sir Arthur Wellesley assumes the Command—Opening of the Campaign of 1809—Passage of the Douro—The Guards drive back the Right of the French in Oporto—Retreat of Soult's Army—His Rear-guard defeated by the Guards—Combined Movement between the British and Spaniards under Ouesta—Proposed Operations on Madrid—Cuesta declines fighting on Sunday—He is defeated by Victor and saved by the Guards—Battle of Talavera, First Day—The Battle renewed—Singular Cessation of Arms—Charge of the Guards—Their Critical Position—Final Defeat of the French.

IN the mean time another expedition was prepared in England, and the brigade of Guards quartered at Chatham, composed of the first battalions of the Coldstream and Scots Fusiliers, marched to Ramsgate, and embarked for the Peninsula. During the night they anchored in the Downs, and proceeded next morning, with the 87th and 88th regiments, for Spithead, the whole amounting to four thousand three hundred men and officers, under the command of Major-General Sherbrooke.

The fleet sailed on the 15th of January, 1809, and, after encountering a series of contrary winds and tempests—

tuous weather, proceeded direct for Cadiz, in the hope of securing that important seaport. The Supreme Junta, however, refused the troops admittance, insolently asserting that the confidence of the Spaniards in their allies was at an end. General Sherbrooke, therefore, perceiving that further negotiation would only be attended with loss of time, proceeded for the Tagus, and the defence of Portugal then became the primary object of Great Britain.

Major-General Beresford was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese levies, with the rank of marshal in their service, and employed himself with the greatest zeal and activity in remodelling the Portuguese army, which, previous to his command, had been in the lowest state of degradation. This general introduced subordination, and convinced them of the advantages arising from discipline. English officers were placed in command of regiments, and a regular organisation established,

The British force at that time in Portugal, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir J. Cradock, amounted to about eighteen thousand men, besides twenty thousand native troops taken into British pay. In addition to these, fresh levies were raised in all parts; and the inhabitants of Portugal looked forward with hope, if not with confidence, to the successful defence of their country.

In every part of Spain, however, the cause of freedom appeared hopeless; for the Spanish armies had met so many and such discouraging defeats that their military reputation had sunk below mediocrity, being equally despised by their enemies and distrusted by their friends. Soult had crossed the Minho, on the 27th of February, and shortly after completely defeated the Spaniards, under the Marquis de la Romana, near Monterrey. After this exploit the French marshal marched on Oporto, which he carried by assault, though defended by a force of twenty thousand irregular troops, and a line of works extending from the Douro to the sea, on which were mounted two hundred guns. A dreadful scene of carnage ensued on the capture of this place.

Such was the unpromising aspect of affairs when Sir Arthur Wellesley arrived at Lisbon, on the 22nd of April, 1809, as commander-in-chief of the British forces in Portugal, and a forward movement was immediately decided on. The army was ordered to concentrate at Coimbra, into which town the Guards marched on the 1st of May, and were received with shouts of joy. The balconies were filled with females ; embroidered and damask cloths, as is customary in Catholic countries on great festivals, were suspended from the windows ; sweetmeats, sugar-plums, and orange-flowers were showered upon the soldiers in great profusion, during their passage through the town ; and in the evening it was illuminated.

Sir Arther Wellesley arrived at Coimbra on the 2nd of May, and advanced against Oporto, after reviewing his army, which amounted to twenty-five thousand men, including three thousand Germans and nine thousand Portuguese.

Never had a triumphant campaign a bolder or a more brilliant opening : it was grandly conceived and admirably executed. Marshal Soult's position in Portugal had become critical ; for having advanced to threaten Lisbon, he found himself with a British army in his front, bands of guerillas in his rear, one flank hemmed in by Silveira at Amarante, and the ocean on the other. He retired in consequence on Oporto, which would give him an option of two courses ; either to move towards Victor by circuitous marches on the Tagus, or to retire from Portugal by the road leading through the *Tras os Montes*.

In consequence of this movement, Beresford was ordered with the Portuguese to intercept Soult if he should attempt to retreat by Amarante. General Hill, with his division, embarked on the 9th at Aveiro, to turn the enemy's right ; and the rest of the army, under Sir Arthur, moved by the direct road to Oporto. On the 11th, the French were dislodged from a range of hills on which they were strongly posted at Grijon ; they then retreated over the Douro, destroyed the bridge, and carried every boat that could swim to the other bank.

Soon after seven A.M. on the 12th of May, the British troops marched through Villa Nova, and halted on the heights opposite Oporto, which was effected without their columns being exposed to view. This was a critical moment. A broad and rapid river separated the allies from the enemy, and no means of passing it could be discovered: a strong force was on the other side, the banks were steep and rocky, and the stream three hundred yards across. In spite of these difficulties, however, Sir Arthur decided on making the perilous attempt—as bold an effort as can be found in the annals of modern war.

Fortunately, Soult never contemplated the possibility of an attack by land, and the passage of an unfordable river in the face of an active enemy. His whole attention being turned to the sea, the quarter from which alone he apprehended danger, he had neglected to guard the river above the town. By singular good fortune also, a few boats being found higher up, at a bend in the Douro out of sight of the enemy's piquets, Major-General Paget crossed with the Buffs, and was followed by the rest of General Hill's brigade. They took possession of a building on the opposite bank, and maintained it in spite of every effort of the French to dislodge them; while several guns were planted near the convent of Sarea in Villa Nova to support the attack, and General Murray, with his brigade and some cavalry, crossed at Barca d'Avintas, a few miles higher up.

Meanwhile the Guards, under General Sherbrooke, were detached to attempt the ferry below the town, where the river was upwards of three hundred yards broad, very deep, and extremely rapid. They crossed, in boats that were brought to them by some Portuguese from the opposite side, at the spot where the bridge of boats had stood before its destruction; and on landing, they were immediately sent in pursuit of the enemy, led by the light infantry of the Coldstream, the first that had passed over to the town. They charged the right of the French with invincible ardour, and drove them back

with great slaughter ; while the enemy's left being endangered by the appearance of General Murray's brigade, Soult hastily retreated by the Amarante road, boldly followed by the British cavalry, who charged repeatedly with the most brilliant success.

The Guards, while driving the French through the streets, were everywhere received by the inhabitants in the same manner as at Coimbra. Amidst the conflict, the soldiers were encouraged with enthusiastic cheers ; and "Vivan os Ingles! Viva Gran Britania! Viva O gran Wellesley!" resounded on every side. Hogsheads of wine were brought into the streets and given to the troops, and blessings were universally bestowed by the inhabitants on the brave English who had so gallantly relieved them from their cruel oppressors.

It was, indeed, one of those perilous enterprises that make the fame of a general if successful, and his ruin if otherwise. The passage of a river in the face of an enemy, with every assistance from pontoons and ferryage, is considered a hazardous undertaking ; but, circumstanced as the British commander was, the thing was generally set down as impracticable ; and Soult was so unprepared for the attempt, and so ridiculed the notion, that he was compelled at the last moment to fly precipitately, and leave the dinner which was prepared for him to the British general and his staff.

After congratulating the army on their success, Sir Arthur Wellesley thus alludes to the conduct of the Guards in the general order.

"Oporto, May 12, 1809.—The timely passage of the Douro, and subsequent movement on the enemy's flank by Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, with the brigade of Guards and 29th Regiment, and the bravery of the two squadrons of the 14th Light Dragoons under the command of Major Harvey, and led by Brigadier-General Charles Stewart, obtained the victory which has contributed so much to the honour of the troops on this day."

The situation of Soult's army had now become critical; and having learnt that Beresford had destroyed the bridge of Amarante, he determined to retire on Guimaraens; to effect which he abandoned his guns, ammunition, military chest, and baggage, and took to the path across the mountains, leaving Braga on the left. By this manœuvre he gained a day in advance.

Sir Arthur hastened forward in pursuit on the 14th, and arrived next day at Braga,* where the troops were received with the same enthusiasm as at Coimbra and Oporto. On the 16th the British moved forward from Braga, and overtook the rear-guard of the French army, which was strongly posted at Salamonde. The enemy's right was protected by a deep ravine; the road as far as the village was exposed to the fire of their position, and their left was covered by an extremely high hill.

Although the position was strong, and the brigade of Guards were the only infantry come up, Sir Arthur instantly made his dispositions for attack. Two companies of the Coldstream, under Colonel Henry Mackinnon, scaled the height, for the purpose of turning the enemy's left; and on their appearance, the brigade of Guards was ordered to advance. The attack was led by the light companies of the Coldstream and 3rd Guards, with the 60th Rifles (5th battalion), under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fuller of the Coldstream. After firing a volley, the enemy fled in great confusion. Two or three guns were brought to bear on the bridge of Ponte Nova, over which they endeavoured to escape, though not in the direct road of retreat; and at this spot great numbers were killed, many were crushed, while others fell over the bridge, which had no parapet, and were drowned.

Sir Arthur Wellesley, in his despatch, dated Monte Alegre, May the 18th, says, "The brigade of Guards were at the head of the column, and set a laudable ex-

* This fine city had been plundered, and everything valuable or ornamental had been destroyed. The retreat of the French was everywhere marked by burning villages, and the inconceivable wretchedness of the inhabitants.

ample ; and in the affair with the enemy's rear-guard on the evening of the 16th they conducted themselves remarkably well."

The next morning's dawn renewed the pursuit ; and every turn of the road, cumbered with broken vehicles and deserted baggage, showed how severely the French army had been pressed. The bridge was nearly impassable, from dead men and slain horses, laid there in heaps by the grape and canister of the British guns. Arms, accoutrements, ham-strung mules, guns, tumbrils, knapsacks filled with silver plate, tapestry, and other valuable plunder, were strewn indiscriminately along the line. Indeed, the French retreat through the Gallician mountains was only paralleled by the British on Corunna.

The French marshal crossed the frontier on the 18th, with barely nineteen thousand men—his guns, stores, and baggage abandoned to the conquerors ; though but ten weeks before, perfect in every arm, that army had passed through Orense, on its march to Oporto, mustering twenty-six thousand veteran soldiers. Here Sir Arthur discontinued the pursuit ; and it was, indeed, full time for the British leader to move southward, for Victor had forced the passage of the Tagus, at Alcantara, and threatened Lisbon.

On reaching Abrantes on the 7th of June, it was correctly ascertained that Victor was concentrating at Merida, intending, probably, to cross the Guadiana, and attack Cuesta before the British could come to his assistance. Propositions for a combined movement were therefore made by Sir Arthur Wellesley to the Spanish general, who willingly acceded to them, and the British moved forward to unite, as it was believed, in an operation on Madrid.

At a conference between the commanders,* a plan was

* The Marquis of Londonderry, describing this interview, which took place by torchlight, says :—"Nor was old Cuesta himself an object to be passed by without notice, even at such a moment and under such circumstances as these. The old man preceded us, not so much sitting on his horse as held upon it by two pages, at the imminent hazard of being overthrown whenever a cannon was

arranged for an immediate attempt to recover the capital. The British and Spanish armies, taking the right bank of the Tagus, were to advance directly forward; Venegar, with fourteen thousand Spaniards, was to threaten Aranjuez, and, if possible, take possession of Toledo; while two other Spanish divisions should hold the passes of Banos and Perales, and five thousand Portuguese, under Sir Robert Wilson, were to act independently, and annoy the French flanks and rear as they best could.

The British, consequently, moved by Salvatierra and Placentia, effecting a junction with Cuesta at Oropisa on the 20th of July. On the 22nd, Victor having retired and taken a position on the Alberche, afforded an opportunity for attacking him with that river in his rear; but Cuesta, who was a singular medley of opposite qualities, obstinately declined, because the day was Sunday, though his army numbered forty-seven thousand, and Wellesley's about twenty-one, while Victor had only twenty thousand. During the night, Victor, wondering, doubtless, at his narrow escape, retired across the Alberche, and was soon after joined by Joseph Bonaparte, with the divisions of Jourdan and Sebastiani—the whole, united at Torrijos, forming a *corps d'armée* of nearly fifty thousand men.

Cuesta, however, with the overweening confidence of the Spaniard, fancied the French were retreating, and followed them; but Victor suddenly pounced upon him; and, as his retreat was most disorderly, nothing but the prompt assistance of the Guards and other troops of Sherbrooke's division could have saved the stupid old man from destruction.

Meanwhile, the great scarcity of provisions had obliged the British to halt for a day or two; and Sir Arthur, to

discharged, or a torch flared out with peculiar brightness; indeed, his physical debility was so remarkable as clearly to mark his total unfitness for the situation which he then held. As to his mental powers, he gave us little opportunity of judging; inasmuch as he scarcely uttered five words during the continuance of our visit; but his corporeal infirmities alone were at absolute variance with all a general's duties, and showed that he was now fit only for the retirement of private life."

obtain supplies, took a position behind the Alberche. He had received the most positive assurances from the Spanish Government that his army should be regularly supplied with provisions and means of transport during his advance; but, either from neglect on the part of the proper authorities, or from the exhausted state of the country, these promises were not fulfilled. The troops consequently underwent such great privations that Sir Arthur refused to move, and even threatened to return to Portugal if the rations and means of conveyance, so frequently demanded and promised, were not forthcoming.*

But the enemy were now advancing, the battle of Talavera was at hand, and the English general no longer thought of anything else than of effectually repelling the threatened attack.

The position he had chosen was about two miles in length, extending perpendicularly from the Tagus, on which the right rested in the town of Talavera. It was partially retrenched, having an intersected and most difficult country in its front. The centre was more open; but the left terminated favourably on a bold and commanding height, overlooking a considerable valley, which separated the left of the position from a range of rocky mountains. The right being considered nearly unattackable, was allotted to the Spaniards; while the British defended the more accessible ground upon the left.

The force of the French, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte in person, assisted by such soldiers as Jourdan and Victor, and numbering fifty thousand veterans, with eighty pieces of cannon, constituted heavy odds against nineteen thousand British and Germans, with only thirty guns; for though the Spanish army consisted of thirty-four thousand men, with seventy guns, they were not, as the event proved, to be depended upon.

At noon on the 27th of July, the French attacked in two heavy columns, sending out clouds of skirmishers,

* An officer of the Coldstream Guards gave a dollar for a small loaf of bread, on the day preceding the battle of Talavera.



BATTLE OF TALAVERA.

and supporting the advance with a heavy cannonade from heights in the rear. They gained a temporary advantage over Mackenzie's division, which having retired a little, the brunt of the assault fell upon a small brigade under General Donkin, then in possession of the height on the left of the line, which was the key of the position. From the weakness of his brigade, Donkin's flank was turned, and the hill behind crowned by the enemy; but that success was momentary. General Hill instantly led up the 48th, 29th, and 1st battalion of detachments. A close and murderous volley from the British was followed by a charge; the French were forced from the position with great loss; and the ridge was again carried by a wing of the 29th with the bayonet.

Victor, animated by the success of his first operation, sent forward Villatte's division, and the whole of his light cavalry and guns; while the 4th corps and French reserve, which were directed against the right, sent their cavalry forward to induce the Spaniards to unmask their line of battle. On the advance of the French cavalry, after delivering a general volley, two or three thousand of the Spaniards broke and ran off the field.* The panic spread, and the French were about to charge; but Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was at hand, immediately flanked the main road with some English squadrons, while on the other side the ditches rendered the country impracticable, and the fire of musketry being renewed by those Spaniards who remained, the enemy lost some men, and finally retreated in disorder.

There was a brief space of quiet; but, determined to win the key of the position, though darkness had now set in, the French, in great force, once more rushed forward to wrest the height from its defenders, and in the

* "Nearly two thousand ran off on the evening of the 27th from the battle of Talavera (not a hundred yards from the place where I was standing), who were neither attacked nor threatened with an attack, and who were frightened only with the noise of their own fire. They left their arms and accoutrements on the ground, their officers went with them, and they and the fugitive cavalry plundered the baggage of the British army, which had been sent to the rear."—*Letter from Sir Arthur Wellesley, August 1809.*

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and retired a little
small brigade under
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the battle-ground. The men approached each other fear-
lessly, threw down their caps and muskets, chatted with
each other like old acquaintances, and exchanged their
rusty flasks and wine-skins. All asperity of feeling
seemed forgotten. To a stranger they would have ap-
peared more like an allied force than men hot from a
ferocious conflict, and only gathering strength and energy
to recommence it anew. But a still nobler rivalry for the
time existed; the interval was employed in carrying off
the wounded, who lay intermixed upon the hard-contested
field; and to the honour of both be it told, that each
endeavoured to extricate the common sufferers, and to

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of cannon.

left, Brigadier-General Anson, with

agoons and 1st German Hussars, was

arge the head of Villatte's column. When at

op, the brigade was suddenly checked by a deep
 ravine; but the 23rd, in defiance of this obstacle and of
 the fire from the squares, dashed boldly on, passed between
 the divisions of Ruffin and Villatte, and charged a brigade
 of chasseurs. A body of cavalry sent by Marshal Victor
 coming up, the gallant 23rd was surrounded, broken, and
 nearly annihilated.

But the great effort of the day was now made upon
 the centre of the position, occupied by General Sher-
 brooke's division, which included the brigade of Guards.
 This attack was made with great steadiness and deter-
 mination. The French columns deployed before they
 attempted to ascend the heights, and, regardless of broken
 ground, advanced to the charge with imposing gallantry.
 Sherbrooke's division was assailed both in front and on
 its left flank by a fire of artillery, while the columns of
 infantry rushed up to the very bayonets of the Guards;
 but the general, having fully prepared his men, received
 them with a volley of musketry, which staggered their

* Maxwell.

gloom the assailants and the assailed nearly touched each other. The red flash of a well-delivered volley disclosed to the English the dark array that threatened them. The order was given to advance, and again the British bayonet drove the columns down the hill.

The troops rested upon their arms, each battalion on the ground it had occupied the preceding day. The cavalry were stretched beside their horses ; all were ready for an attack ; but the night passed with some slight alarms, and no serious disturbance.

Soon after day-break on the 28th, the battle was renewed. Under cover of a furious cannonade, the Grenadiers of Sapisse's division advanced in two columns again to attack the height upon the left ; but there they were met by the brigades of Generals Tilson and Richard Stewart, which permitted the enemy, again and again, to arrive within a few paces of the ridge, and then drove them back in admirable style with the bayonet, till, disheartened by so many repulses, they at last retreated altogether, leaving the ground covered with their dead.

The fighting, which had continued without intermission from daylight, had produced an enormous loss of life ; and at nine o'clock, by a sort of tacit consent, each party ceased hostilities. The day was oppressively hot, and the soldiers of both armies hurried down to obtain water from a small stream that flowed through the centre of the battle-ground. The men approached each other fearlessly, threw down their caps and muskets, chatted with each other like old acquaintances, and exchanged their brandy-flasks and wine-skins. All asperity of feeling seemed forgotten. To a stranger they would have appeared more like an allied force than men hot from a ferocious conflict, and only gathering strength and energy to recommence it anew. But a still nobler rivalry for the time existed ; the interval was employed in carrying off the wounded, who lay intermixed upon the hard-contested field ; and to the honour of both be it told, that each endeavoured to extricate the common sufferers, and to

remove their unfortunate friends and enemies without distinction. Suddenly, the bugles sounded, the drums beat to arms, many of the rival soldiery shook hands and parted with expressions of mutual esteem, and in ten minutes after they were again at the bayonet's point.*

About two o'clock, the French *tirailleurs* advanced, followed by four dense columns, covered by eighty guns; but the English, notwithstanding the heavy loss they sustained from the cannonade, patiently reserved their fire till the near approach of the enemy.

General Sebastiani almost reached the redoubt on the right of the British; but the troops commanded by Brigadier-General Alexander Campbell, with two Spanish battalions, drove them back with great slaughter, taking thirteen pieces of cannon.

On the left, Brigadier-General Anson, with the 23rd Light Dragoons and 1st German Hussars, was ordered to charge the head of Villatte's column. When at full gallop, the brigade was suddenly checked by a deep ravine; but the 23rd, in defiance of this obstacle and of the fire from the squares, dashed boldly on, passed between the divisions of Ruffin and Villatte, and charged a brigade of chasseurs. A body of cavalry sent by Marshal Victor coming up, the gallant 23rd was surrounded, broken, and nearly annihilated.

But the great effort of the day was now made upon the centre of the position, occupied by General Sherbrooke's division, which included the brigade of Guards. This attack was made with great steadiness and determination. The French columns deployed before they attempted to ascend the heights, and, regardless of broken ground, advanced to the charge with imposing gallantry. Sherbrooke's division was assailed both in front and on its left flank by a fire of artillery, while the columns of infantry rushed up to the very bayonets of the Guards; but the general, having fully prepared his men, received them with a volley of musketry, which staggered their

* Maxwell.

resolution, and the whole division rushing forward with the bayonet, the French were driven back with prodigious loss. The Guards, carried onward by victorious excitement, advanced somewhat loosely ; but who has ever seen an unbroken line preserved in following up a successful bayonet-charge ?* They found themselves assailed by the French reserve, while they were mowed down by an overwhelming fire of the enemy's artillery, which had become, of course, closer and more deadly. They fell back ; but, as whole sections were swept away, their ranks became disordered, and nothing but their stubborn gallantry prevented a total *déroute*. Their situation was most critical ; and had the French cavalry charged home, nothing could have saved them.

But Lord Wellington saw the danger, and speedily despatched support. A brigade of horse was ordered up, and the 48th regiment moved from the heights they occupied to assist their hard-pressed comrades. Advancing at double-quick, and forming in the rear by companies, the broken ranks of the Guards retreated through the intervals of their line ; and while a close and well-directed volley from the 48th arrested the progress of the victorious French, the Guards, with amazing celerity and coolness, rallied and re-formed, and in a few minutes advanced in turn to support their friends. As they came on, the men gave a loud huzza, which an Irish regiment to the right answered with a thrilling cheer. It was taken up from regiment to regiment proudly echoing along the English line ; and that wild shout told the advancing enemy that British valour was indomitable. The leading files of the French halted—turned—fell back, and never made another effort.†

In the evening of the 28th, the grass, which was very long and dry, ignited, and the fire spread with such rapidity that several of the wounded were burnt to death. During the night, the men lay on their arms, and suffered greatly from the want of provisions ; but on the next

* Leith Hay.

† Maxwell.

morning, a rear-guard of cavalry was all that was visible of the French army.

The following appeared in general orders, dated Talavera de la Reyna, July 29th, 1809 :—

“The charge made by the brigade of Guards, under the command of Brigadier-General Henry Campbell, on the enemy’s attacking column, was a most gallant one.”

CHAPTER XIII.

Casualties at Talavera—The British retire on Badajoz—The Walcheren Expedition—Ruinous state of Affairs in Spain—Exultation of Bonaparte—Wellington limits himself to the Defence of Portugal—The Conduct of the Guards duly appreciated—Soult invades Andalusia—Arrival of a Brigade of Guards at Cadiz—Invasion of the “Army of Portugal,” under Massena—Wellington takes up a Position—Battle of Busaco—Massena tries to turn the Left of the British—Wellington retires on Torres Vedras—Description of that famous Position—Mortification of Massena—He is compelled to retreat—Winter Cantonments—French Retreat resumed—Massena driven out of Portugal.

THE British loss at the battle of Talavera was very severe, amounting to four thousand killed and wounded ; that of the French has been estimated at from six to eight thousand. But had one forward movement of the Spaniards been made, it would have proved the most decisive defeat that the French armies in the Peninsula had ever sustained. On the morning after the battle, the light division was reinforced by the 43rd, the 52nd, and the 95th, under General Craufurd, who reached the army, accompanied by troop of horse artillery, after a march of sixty-three miles, accomplished in twenty-six hours, in the hottest weather, so anxious were they to participate in the expected engagement.

Soult, who had collected thirty-five thousand men, on learning the defeat of Talavera made a flank movement to assist Joseph Bonaparte, and reached Placentia by the pass of Banos ; on which Sir Arthur resolved that the British army should immediately march to Oropesa, Cuesta agreeing to remain in position at Talavera, to protect

the stores and hospitals there. This, however, he did not do, but retired immediately after the British ; when, it being found impossible to supply the troops with provisions, Sir Arthur resolved to establish his head-quarters at Badajos.

The brigade of Guards reached Merida on the 24th of August, and entered Badajos on the 10th of October, when the following general order was issued :—

“ The commander of the forces deems it but justice to the two battalions of Guards to state that their returns have in every respect been as accurate as the conduct of those excellent corps has been regular and exemplary in every other respect.”

During these transactions in Spain, war had been declared between France and Austria, and Napoleon had gained the battle of Abensberg, and on the following day another victory at Landshut. On the 22nd of April he attacked the Archduke Charles at Eckmuhl, and forced him to retire behind the Danube with great loss.

To create a diversion in favour of Austria, a formidable expedition was prepared by England for invading the French dominions. This was the hapless Walcheren affair, equally disgraceful to the Ministers who planned and the General who carried it into execution. The flank companies of the Coldstream (2nd battalion) formed part of this expedition ; and their services, like those of many other excellent troops, doomed to perish in that pestilent marsh, were thus lost where they were so greatly wanted, and would have been so essentially useful.

At this time Napoleon was pouring in constant reinforcements over the Pyrenees, and strengthening his *corps d'armée* in every province of the Peninsula. The Spanish generals were overthrown in every direction, the French were everywhere victorious, and Spain once more lay nearly at their feet. A final battle was fought by the Spaniards on the 19th of November, at Ocana, where their best troops were destroyed ; and Napoleon, who

considered this victory as the conclusion of the war, exultingly exclaimed, in his speech to the Senate, "I shall show myself beyond the Pyrenees, when the frightened leopard will fly to the sea, to avoid shame, defeat, and death: my imperial eagles shall be planted on the ramparts of Cadiz, and be seen on the towers of Lisbon."

In this state of affairs Sir Arthur Wellesley, recently created Viscount Wellington, deemed it expedient to confine himself to the defence of Portugal; and the army consequently crossed the Tagus. The brigade of Guards marched through Portlegre, Abrantes, and Coimbra, and arrived on the 30th of December at Vizeu, where they were stationed. This place was also fixed on as the headquarters. General Hill's corps was placed in and about Abrantes. The remainder of the army occupied Guarda, Celorico, Pinhel, and places in the neighbourhood. The river Coa ran along the front of the line.

Fortunately, the British Parliament saw, and not too late, the place where the struggles for European liberty was to be decided. As many of the Walcheren battalions as could be made effective were recruited from the militias and sent out. The Portuguese in British pay were augmented to thirty thousand men; and England, at last, turned her attention to the point on which her political salvation depended, and where alone the battle of the Continent should be fought. Thus encouraged, though everything seemed to indicate that the Peninsula would become the prey of the invader, and that the British were making for Lisbon to repeat the embarkation of Corunna, the mind of their general rose above the difficulties of his situation: the leopard did not fly to the sea; he only drew back, and took a more deadly spring.*

The excellent conduct of the Guards in these long and painful marches is noticed in the following letter, which appeared in Brigade orders, directed to Colonel the Honourable Edward Stopford.

* Mackinnon.

Vizeu, January 13, 1810.

SIR,—I have taken frequent occasions of stating publicly the great satisfaction which the conduct of the Guards has invariably given me ; which satisfaction has been renewed on the recent march through Portugal ; in which, as they were the head of the column, they set the example to the other troops, of the most orderly and regular behaviour. I am anxious to testify this satisfaction in a manner which shall prove to them that the attention which they pay to their duty is not unobserved by their superiors ; and if the commanding officers of the two battalions will be so kind as to recommend a sergeant each, I will recommend them to vacant ensigncies in the army.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Hon. Col. Stopford, Commanding 2nd Brigade of Guards.

On the 20th of January, Soult, with fifty thousand men, having been despatched by Joseph against the southern provinces, forced with little opposition the passes of the Sierra Morena, which had been fortified, and advanced into Andalusia. Seven days after, Victor joined him before Seville, which place opened its gates on the 31st, and Joseph Bonaparte entered the city in triumph. In this extremity, the Duke of Albuquerque hastened with all speed to Cadiz, and, by the rapidity of his march, arrived just in time to barricade the bridge of Zuozo, in the Isla de Leon. The French were, therefore, disappointed in their expectations of entering the place, where a force of between five and six thousand British and Portuguese were collected under Lieutenant-General Graham. which was immediately after increased by six companies of the 1st Guards, two companies of the 2nd battalion of the Coldstream, and three from the 3rd Guards, just arrived from England, under Brigadier-General Dilkes.

Both sides now exerted themselves in constructing fortifications. The French strengthened Rota, Puerto Real, Puerto Santa Maria, and Chiclana : they formed entrenched camps between these places and at Trocadero. and established batteries, whence they threw enormous shells half filled with lead into the town. The English, on their side, restored the old works and erected new

ones along the Santa Petri river ; they also cut a canal across the isthmus, near the Corta Dura, between the Isla and Cadiz.

During these transactions in the south, the British position in Portugal was threatened by a powerful army under Massena, denominated the "Army of Portugal." He commenced the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo in June ; but the garrison did not capitulate till the 10th of July, after a siege of twenty-five days with open trenches. He invested Almeida in August, which town unexpectedly surrendered on the 27th of that month, owing to the explosion of the magazines in the citadel, by which calamity a great number of inhabitants and houses were destroyed. Flushed with success, Massena's army entered Portugal on the 16th of September, in three columns, headed by Junot, Ney, and Regnier ; and a general action now became inevitable.

The allies retired from their position in the finest order by the road on the left bank of the Mondego, leaving the other, through Vizeu to Coimbra, open. The French army concentrated at Vizeu, while Wellington fell back upon the heights of Busaco.

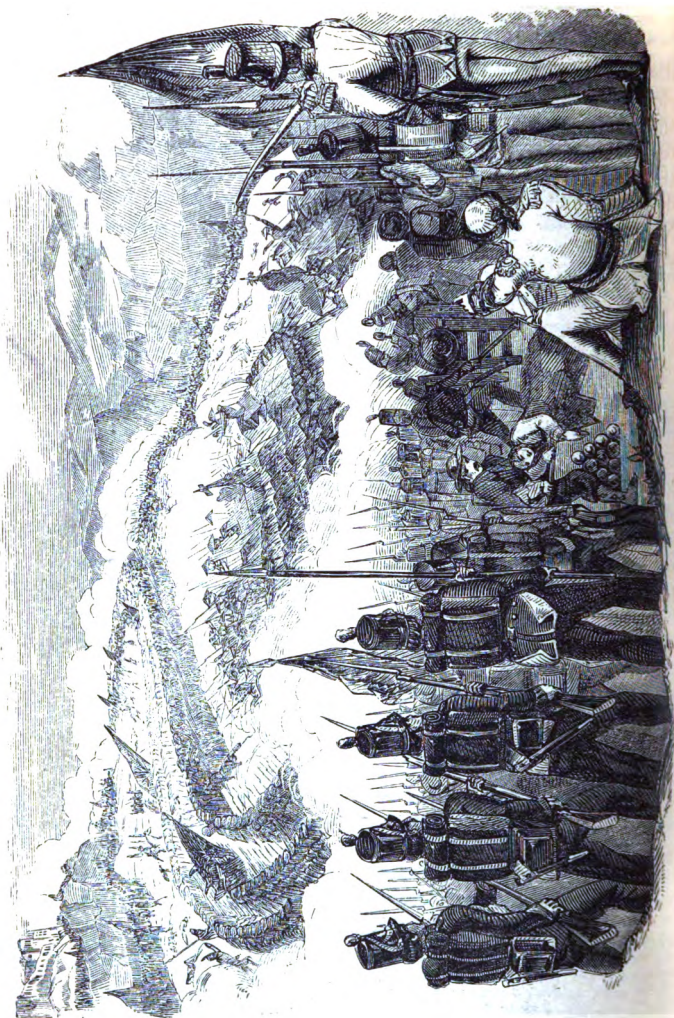
This mountain-range was about eight miles long ; its right touching the river Mondego, and the left stretching over very difficult ground to the Sierra de Caramula. On the summit stood a convent, surrounded by extensive woods : this point was nearly three hundred feet high, but its elevation varied considerably in different places. Two roads crossed the hill—one near the convent, the other more to the south. Sir Brent Spencer, with the first division, occupied the centre, on the right of which were the Guards ; the Coldstream extended to Picton's division, which joined with Leith's ; General Hill was on the extreme right ; General Cole's division occupied the left. The light division was in advance, in front of the left and left centre.* The cavalry, under Sir Stapleton

* During the night of the 23rd of September, the following strange occurrence took place in the bivouac of Craufurd's division. "One of those extraordinary panics," says Napier, "which in ancient times were attributed to the influence

Cotton, formed in the rear. General Fane's brigade was on the left of the Mondego. On the evening of the 26th of September, both armies bivouacked in each other's presence. Sixty-five thousand French infantry, covered by a mass of voltigeurs, formed in the British front ; while scarcely fifty thousand of the allies were in line on the Sierra de Busaco, and these unavoidably extended over a surface which their numbers were quite inadequate to defend.

Before day on the morning of the 27th the British stood to their arms, in readiness to receive the enemy. Shrouded by the grey mist that still was lingering on the Sierra, Ney, with three columns, moved forward in front of the convent, to where Craufurd's division was posted in advance of the British line ; while Regnier, with two divisions, approached by less difficult ground the piquets of the third division, before the feeble light permitted his movements to be discovered. With their usual impetuosity, the French pushed forward, and the British as determinately opposed them. Under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, the enemy topped the heights, and, on the left of the third division, gained the summit of the mountain—their leading battalions securing themselves among the rocks, and threatening the ridge of the sierra. But the fire of two guns with grape opened on their flank ; in front a heavy fusilade was maintained ; while, advancing over the crown of the height, the 88th, 45th, and 8th Portuguese regiment poured in a destructive fire of musketry, and charged furiously with the bayonet. For a while both French and English were intermixed in a desperate *mêlée* ; both fought hand to hand, both went struggling down the mountain—the head of the French column annihilated, and covering the descent, from the crown to the valley, with heaps of its dead and dying.

of a hostile god, took place. No enemy was near, no alarm was given, yet suddenly the troops, as if seized with a frenzy, started from sleep, and dispersed in every direction ; nor was there any possibility of allaying this strange terror, until some persons called out that the enemy's cavalry were among them, when the soldiers mechanically ran together in masses, and the illusion was instantly dissipated."



Ney was equally unsuccessful in his attack on the light division under Major-General Craufurd, who had judiciously formed his brigade in a dip of the ground behind the summit of his position, while the rocks in front, and the whole face of the Sierra, was crowded with riflemen and *Caçadores*. Morning had scarcely dawned, when a sharp and scattered musketry announced the approach of Ney's division. The brigade of General Simon led the attack, and, reckless of the constant fusilade of the British light troops and the sweeping fire of the artillery, they came steadily and quietly on till their column topped the height. At that instant Craufurd, who had coolly watched the progress of the advance, called on the 43rd and 52nd to "Charge!" A cheer that pealed for miles over the sierra answered the order, and eighteen hundred British bayonets went sparkling over the brow of the hill. The head of the French column was overwhelmed in an instant; both its flanks were overlapped by the English wings, while volley after volley, at a few yards distance, completed its destruction, and marked with hundreds of its dead and dying, prostrate on the face of the sierra, the course of its murderous discomfiture.*

On the right, Marchaud's brigades, having gained the cover of a pine-wood, threw out their skirmishers and endeavoured to surmount the broken surface of the hill. But they were driven back by a murderous fire from the Guards, who were formed in such imposing force on the brow of the sierra as to render any attempt on their position altogether hopeless. After an hour's fruitless effort, Ney, finding his troops sinking under an unprofitable slaughter, withdrew them behind the rocks, and the roar of battle ceased.†

The loss sustained by Massena in his attempt upon the

* Napier.

† Just towards the close of the action the following affecting incident occurred. "A poor orphan Portuguese girl, about seventeen years of age, and very handsome, was seen coming down the mountain, driving an ass, loaded with all her property, through the French army. . . . She passed over the field of battle with a childish simplicity, unconscious of her perilous situation, and scarcely understanding which were the hostile and which were the friendly troops; for no man on either side was so brutal as to molest her."—*Napier*.

British position at Busaco was immense. A general of brigade and above a thousand men were killed. Foy, Merle, and Simon, with four thousand five hundred, were wounded, and nearly three hundred taken prisoners. The allied casualties did not exceed twelve hundred and fifty men, of which nearly one half were Portuguese.

Massena had suffered too heavily to think of attacking the Sierra de Busaco a second time ; but having, by means of a Portuguese peasant, discovered a pass through the mountains, he marched his divisions with a view to turn the left of the British ; upon which orders were instantly given by Lord Wellington to abandon the sierra and retire upon the lines of Torres Vedras.

Nothing could surpass the fine attitude maintained by the British in this retreat ; every march being leisurely executed, as if no enemy were in the rear. The people of the country accompanied the army on its march, abandoning their dwellings, driving off their cattle, and destroying provisions and forage, leaving the towns and villages deserted of inhabitants, and deprived of everything which could be serviceable to the invaders. When the army halted in the lines, one portion of the wanderers proceeded to Lisbon, but the greater number across the Tagus, to seek a temporary retreat on its southern shores.*

The weather at this time was cold, and the rain fell in torrents, which, together with want of supplies as he marched through an exhausted country, somewhat retarded the activity of Massena's proceedings ; but on the 10th of October he came up with the rear-guard of the allies at Sobral, just as the army had concentrated within the lines. The British troops were as much surprised at finding themselves in their strongly-fortified and impregnable position, as the French commander was astonished

* " Fifty thousand of these fugitives found support and consolation in the hospitality and kindness of the citizens of Lisbon ; but an equal number, who fled to the left bank of the Tagus, long remained exposed to the weather ; and a large proportion miserably perished from hunger and disease before relief could be administered."—*Jones's Account of the War*.

and confounded when he saw that the further progress of his overwhelming force was effectually arrested.

These celebrated lines, planned to protect an embarkation, should it be necessary, and to cover the capital from attack, were constructed on two parallel ranges of lofty heights, that stretch across the peninsula upon which Lisbon stands, from the Tagus to the ocean; a distance from flank to flank of twenty-two miles in one range, and twenty-five in the other. The line on the sierra next the capital was the stronger of the two. Fifty-nine redoubts, containing two hundred and thirty-two pieces of cannon, and estimated to require seventeen thousand five hundred men to garrison them, protected the weaker points, enfiladed the roads, or swept the ascent to the escarped mountains, in the range of this extended position, occupying a front of twenty-two miles.

The front line had been originally intended for one of isolated posts, rather than an unbroken extent of defensive ground, which it was subsequently made. It rests also on the Atlantic, at the mouth of the Lozandra, and was fortified by sixty-nine works of different descriptions: in these were mounted three hundred and nineteen pieces of artillery, and they required upwards of eighteen thousand men to garrison them; their extent, in a direct line from flank to flank, being twenty-five miles.

In addition to these works, rivers were obstructed in their course, flooding the valleys, and rendering the country swampy and impassable; trenches were cut, from whence infantry, perfectly protected, might fire on the advancing columns of an enemy; mountains were scarped; abattis of the most formidable description either closed the entrance to ravines, impeded an approach to the works, or blocked up roads. Routes conducting from the front were rendered impracticable; others within the lines formed to facilitate communication; bridges were mined for explosion, telegraphs erected; in short, every means that skill and labour could effect were exhausted, to fortify every spot that nature had left open, and thus to

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render Torres Vedras, its extent considered, the strongest position in Europe.

Such was the matchless line of defence to which Wellington retired at this great crisis of the continental struggle, for the recoil of Massena's army formed that point of reaction in the career of French conquest from which all the subsequent reverses of Napoleon may be dated. The allied army thus occupied the several posts: General Hill's division held the village of Alhandra on the Tagus to the right, which was flanked by a number of gunboats; Craufurd's division joined their left. On the mountain which overhangs Sobral, and completely commands the great road to Lisbon, was a strong redoubt, occupied by a brigade of Portuguese, commanded by General Pack. The first division, under Lieutenant-General Spencer, including the brigade of Guards, was stationed in the centre. Picton's division communicated with Spencer's on the right, and with General Cole's on the left, which last carried on the line of defence to the sea.

After a three day's *reconnaissance*, nothing could surpass the chagrin and surprise exhibited by Massena when, by personal observation, he had ascertained the full extent of the defences with which British skill had perfected what nature had already done so much for. To attempt forcing Torres Vedras must have insured destruction; and nothing remained but to take a position in its front, and observe that immense chain of posts which it was found impossible to carry. He persevered, however, in remaining before Torres Vedras while any resources could be procured; but at length his foragers could obtain no supplies, and even French ingenuity failed in discovering concealed magazines. Nothing, therefore,

* "The French plundered after the most scientific and approved methods: they used to throw water on suspected places, and watch its absorption, judging that the spot where it dried the quickest had been lately disturbed. No qualms of conscience prevented the orthodox Catholic soldiery of the French army from rifling the most sacred places. The communion-plate and silver lamps and candlesticks vanished in the twinkling of an eye. Not content with what the churches offered above ground, or from a zeal for antiquarian research, they despised a superficial or traditional account of former modes of burial, and investigated the point by breaking open the tombs."—*Southey*.

remained but to retire from cantonments where provisions were no longer procurable; and on the morning of the 15th of November Massena retreated on Santarem and Torres Novas, covered by a splendid rear-guard, which he had formed from his choicest battalions, and intrusted to the command of Marshal Ney.

On discovering the retrogressive movement of Massena, Wellington promptly despatched a division on either route, and speedily put his whole army in pursuit, leaving the lines secured by a sufficient force. The allied army followed the enemy towards Santarem, the Guards passing through Alenquer and Cartaxo. Wellington believing that Santarem was occupied only by a rear-guard, made a demonstration for an attack. The Guards were to cross the causeways, but the guns not arriving the advance was postponed till the following day. At six A.M. on the 20th, the Guards assembled at their alarm-post; but Wellington, on a closer examination, detected such powerful means of defence as induced him to countermand the order for advancing.

Both armies now went into cantonments for the winter. The Guards returned to Cartaxo, at which place headquarters were established, the French having chosen Torres Novas for theirs. At the end of December, General Drouet, with ten thousand men, reinforced Massena's army; and on the 4th of March, 1811, seven thousand men arrived in the Tagus, for the army under Wellington. On the same day a punishment parade having been ordered at Cartaxo, the following general order was issued, justly complimentary to the brigade of Guards.

Adjutant General's Office, Cartaxo,

March 4th, 1811.

GENERAL ORDER.

1. As the object in assembling the troops in any station to witness a punishment is to deter others from the commission of the crime for which the criminal is about to suffer, the Commander of the Forces requests that upon every occasion on which the troops are assembled for this purpose, the order may be distinctly read and explained to them,

and that every man may understand the reason for which the punishment is to be inflicted.

2. As during the two years during which the brigade of Guards have been under the command of the Commander of the Forces, not only no soldier has been brought to trial before a general court-martial, but no one has been confined in a public guard, the Commander of the Forces desires that the attendance of this brigade on the present occasion may be dispensed with.

On the night of the 5th of March, the French resumed their retreat, and the English head-quarters removed to Santarem, which was occupied by the Guards. On the 6th the army advanced in pursuit, and overtook the enemy at Pombal on the 11th, when a smart skirmish ensued, the French being so vigorously driven out of the town that they had not time to blow up the bridge. At Redinha, the French made a daring stand, Ney resolutely holding his ground, until masses of British infantry coming up, obliged him to retire. Massena continued retreating by Ponte Murcella, where he had nearly been surprised and made prisoner by Picton's division ; and the pursuit was actively continued to Casal Nova, at which place they halted in so formidable a position that it was again found necessary to turn his flank. On this being done he fell back on another : in short, the country presented a succession of favourable positions, adapted to check pursuit, by which the French rear-guard was enabled to retire in good order on Miranda de Corvo. From this place Wellington once more obliged the enemy to retreat, which caused them to destroy the greater part of their stores, ammunition, and baggage.

On the 15th of March, Ney was strongly posted at Foz d'Aronce, where Lord Wellington attacked him vigorously. The third division, with their usual impetuosity, forced the French left, and the horse artillery completed their disorder. They passed the Ceira in great confusion, many being trampled down upon the bridge, and more drowned in attempting to cross the river where the water was not fordable.

Various occurrences incidental to so rapid a retreat

and so determined a pursuit took place between this and the 29th, when the brigade of Guards arrived in front of Guarda, a town built on the summit of a steep hill, where Massena seemed determined to make a stand; but his opponent was equally resolved to expel him from the Portuguese territory. Accordingly, on the morning of the 29th, his arrangements were so skilful, that the allied columns were not discerned by the enemy till they had nearly gained the summit; when the French, surprised and confounded, retreated, without firing a shot, from perhaps the strongest ground they could have occupied.

Massena, however, still felt anxious to make it appear that he could maintain himself in Portugal, and took a position along the Coa; but at daybreak on the 3rd of April the British troops passed that river, and attacked him so vigorously that he was compelled to retire across the frontier to Rendo, leaving three hundred dead and a howitzer on the field, besides twelve hundred prisoners.

Portugal was now without the presence of a Frenchman, except the garrison of Almeida; and thus, under Massena, "*l'enfant gâté de la Fortune*," ended their third invasion of the country. But a few months before, he had entered it at the head of one hundred thousand of the conquerors at Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena; and he was now compelled to fly before those very troops he had vainly boasted he would drive into the sea. In a military point of view, Massena's retreat was admirable; but, in a moral one, nothing could be more disgraceful. The country over which the retiring columns of the French army passed was marked by bloodshed and devastation. Villages were everywhere destroyed, property wasted or carried off, the men shot in mere wantonness, the women villanously abused; while thousands were driven for shelter to the mountains, where many perished from actual want.*

* "Many of these wretched creatures passed the whole season of winter exposed to its inclemencies in the neighbouring woods or mountains, subsisting merely on roots and herbs; and, on the advance of the allies, returned to their homes, their bodies emaciated from abstinence, and their intellects impaired by

CHAPTER XIV.

Diversion in favour of Cadiz—General Graham commands under La Pena—False Movements of the Spanish General—Critical Situation of the British—Battle of Barrosa—Splendid Charge up the Heights—Total Defeat of the French—Dastardly Conduct of the Spaniards—Campaign of 1811 opens in the North—Massena advances on Portugal—Battle of Fuentes d'Onor—Desperate Struggle and Defeat of the French—Campaign of 1812—Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo by the British—Siege and Storming of Badajoz.

THE course of our history now calls our attention to the south, where another action by a British general of division occurred, and another brigade of Guards won distinguished honour : this was the battle of Barrosa, which arose from an attempt of an Anglo-Spanish army to raise the siege of Cadiz, or, at least, to create a diversion in its favour.

On the 21st of February, 1811, ten thousand allied infantry, including the brigade of Guards under General Dilkes, and six hundred cavalry, were embarked at Cadiz for Tarifa, to attack the rear of the besieging French army at Chiclana. After much delay, occasioned by tempestuous weather, the English troops and artillery were assembled at Tarifa on the 27th ; and when joined by the 28th regiment, and the flank companies of the 9th and 82nd, they numbered about four thousand five hundred effective men. General la Pena arrived the same day with seven thousand Spaniards ; and on the next morning, General Graham having agreed to act under his command, the united force moved through the passes of the Ronda hills, and halted within four leagues of the French outposts. Victor, though apprised of the activity of the

long-continued apprehension : amongst them were girls of sixteen who, become idiots, resembled in person women of fifty. Numbers of children of either sex, who had survived the severe trial, flocked to the road-side as the army approached to demand relief; appearing so thin, pale, and haggard, that many a hardened veteran was observed to turn from the sight with disgust, as he compassionately bestowed on them a portion of the biscuit intended as his next day's support."—*Jones's Account of the War,*

Spaniards, could not ascertain the point of their intended operations ; he, therefore, with eleven thousand choice troops, took post in observation between the roads of Conil and Medina.

La Pena continued his movements till the 5th, when, after his advanced guard had been roughly handled by a squadron of French Dragoons, he halted on the Cerro de Puerco, more generally and gloriously known as the heights of Barrosa. This, though not a high hill, rises considerably above the rugged plain it overlooks, and stands four miles inland from the mouth of the Santi Petri river. The plain is bounded on the right by the forest of Chiclana, on the left by cliffs on the sea-beach, and on the centre by a pine-wood, beyond which the hill of Bermeja rises.

To this hill La Pena ordered the British to march through the pine-wood ; and Graham, having advised the Spanish general to hold Barrosa, commenced his march in obedience to the order. But no sooner had he entered the wood than the Spanish commander, rejecting his advice, withdrew from the position, giving orders that his cavalry should follow him. La Pena then marched to the river Santi Petri, to open a communication with Cadiz, leaving the heights of Barrosa, which were covered with baggage, to be protected by only three or four battalions and as many guns.

Victor, who was concealed in the forest of Chiclana, anxiously watching the movements of the allies, saw the fatal error committed by the Spanish leader, and instantly made dispositions to profit by the ignorance and obstinacy of his antagonists, who had been vainly implored by Graham to hold possession of Barrosa. The French marshal had under his command nine thousand men ; while Villatte, with two thousand five hundred infantry, watched the Spaniards at Santi Petri and Bermeja.

The time was admirably chosen for a decisive movement. The British troops were defiling through the wood, one division of the Spaniards was posted on the

Bermeja, another division pursuing a straggling march on Vejer, and a fourth, in great confusion, was at Barrosa, as a protection to the baggage. Making Villatte's division a pivot, Victor pushed Laval at once against the British, and, ascending the back of the hill with Ruffin's brigade, he threw himself between the Spaniards and Medina, dispersed the camp-followers in an instant, and captured the guns and baggage.

Graham, when apprised of this sudden and unexpected movement, countermarched directly on the plain, to co-operate, as he believed, with La Pena, whom he calculated on finding on the heights ; but never was reliance placed by a brave soldier on a more worthless ally. The Spaniard was gone, his mob soldiery were fugitives, Ruffin on the heights, the French cavalry between him and the sea, and Laval close on the left flank of the British.

It was indeed a most perilous situation ; and in that extremity the brave old man to whom the British had been fortunately confided proved himself worthy of the trust. He saw the ruin of retreat : safety lay in daring ; and, though the enemy held the key of the position with fresh troops, Graham boldly determined to attack them with his wearied ones.

The battle was instantly commenced. Duncan's artillery opened a furious cannonade on the column of Laval. Colonel Barnard, with the Rifles and Portuguese Caçadores extended to the left, and began firing ; the rest of the British troops formed in two masses. The right column, including the Guards, led by Brigadier Dilkes, marched directly up the hill against Ruffin, and the other, under Colonel Whateley, boldly attacked Laval. On both sides the guns poured a torrent of grape and canister over the field ; the infantry kept up a withering fire. Whateley coming to the charge, drove Laval's first line upon the second, and routed both with slaughter ; while Dilkes, with the Guards, rushed up the heights upon Ruffin. Never pausing to correct their formation, which the rugged hill had considerably disorganised, on came the

British desperately, till, approaching the ridge, breathless and disordered, their opponents advanced to meet them. A furious combat, hand to hand, ensued, and for a moment victory seemed doubtful ; but the British fought with a ferocity that nothing could oppose. Whole sections went down, but still the others pressed forward. Ruffin and Rousseau, who commanded the *élite* of the French Grenadiers, fell mortally wounded. The British never paused : on they went, delivering volley after volley, forcing the French over the heights, and defeating them with fearful slaughter and the loss of all their guns.

The divisions of Victor, though dreadfully cut up, fell back on each other for mutual support, and endeavoured to rally ; but Duncan's guns were moved forward, and opened a close and murderous fire that prevented a possibility of re-forming. Nothing could save the shattered battalions from that exterminating cannonade but an instant retreat. Victor accordingly retired, leaving the British in undisputed possession of the field, from which want of food and continued fatigue, while under arms for twenty-four hours, prevented them from moving in pursuit ; while the dastardly La Pena never made a movement towards the succour of his British friends, and the Spanish cavalry never drew a sabre in pursuit of their defeated enemies.

Never was there a shorter and, at the same time, a bloodier conflict. Though it lasted scarcely an hour and a quarter, out of the handful of British troops engaged a loss was sustained of fifty officers, sixty sergeants, and eleven hundred rank and file. The French, besides two thousand killed and wounded, lost six guns, an eagle, and two generals, with nearly five hundred prisoners. Napier best describes this remarkable action in a few words :—
“The contemptible feebleness of La Pena furnished a surprising contrast to the heroic vigour of Graham, whose attack was an inspiration rather than a resolution ; so wise, so sudden was the decision—so swift, so conclusive was the execution.”

We cannot better conclude this very brief narrative of so glorious an exploit, than by the following extract from General Graham's despatch :—

“Where all have so distinguished themselves, it is scarcely possible to discriminate any as the most deserving of praise. Your lordship will, however, observe how gloriously the brigade of Guards, under Brigadier-General Dilkes, with the commanders of battalions, Colonel the Honourable C. Onslow and Lieutenant-Colonel Sebright (wounded), as well as the three separated companies, under Colonel Jackson, maintained the high character of his Majesty's Household Troops.”*

We now return to the affairs of the north. After his expulsion from Portugal, Massena had retired on Salamanca, for the purpose of restoring to his troops that confidence, order, and discipline which they had lost in his hasty retreat. Being now considerably reinforced, he advanced and reached Ciudad Rodrigo on the 25th of April, 1811. Wellington, who had taken advantage of the enemy's absence to visit the troops in the Alentejo, under Beresford, having made all the necessary preparations in conjunction with him for the opening campaign, returned to his head-quarters at Villa Formosa on the 28th of the same month.

On the 2nd of May Massena crossed the frontier with about forty thousand men and five thousand cavalry. The British were reduced to about thirty-two thousand infantry and twelve hundred cavalry. On the same day, the brigade of Guards were moved forward to Nava d'Aver, and on the 3rd the army was placed in position.

Massena's great object in taking the field again was to

* After the battle of Barrosa, the wounded of both nations were, from want of means of transport, necessarily left upon the field of action the whole night, and part of the following day. General Rousseau, who was mortally wounded, was of the number: his dog, a white poodle, finding that the general did not return to his quarters, set out in search of him, found him at night in his dreary resting-place, and expressed his affliction by moans, and by licking the hands and feet of his dying master. When the fatal crisis took place, some hours after, he seemed fully aware of the dreadful change, attached himself closely to the body, and for three days refused the sustenance that was offered to him.

raise the blockade of Almeida, then closely invested by Lord Wellington ; while the English commander having determined that this important fortress should not be relieved, resolved, even on unfavourable ground, and with an inferior force, to risk a battle.

The river Coa runs in a northerly direction, and Almeida is situated on its right bank ; consequently, Wellington had no option but to engage with this river in his rear.

He accordingly took up his ground behind the river of Duas Casas, which also runs a northerly course, and nearly parallel with the Coa, having on its left bank the village of Fuentes d'Onoro. The enemy formed on the 3rd of May, on the opposite bank of the Duas Casas : their left overlooked the village of Fuentes d'Onoro ; and their right extended about two miles, nearly in a parallel direction to the position of the allies. On the same afternoon the French made a furious assault on the village of Fuentes, which was occupied by our light troops, who made a most gallant resistance ; and fresh troops being constantly supplied by both parties,* the contest continued till night, when the assailants were finally driven back across the Duas Casas.

The next day passed over quietly, while Massena carefully reconnoitred the position of his opponent. It was suspected that he intended to change his plan of attack, and manœuvre on the right ; and to secure that flank, Houston's division was moved to Porço Velho, the ground there being weak, and the Duas Casas fordable. Accordingly, about six o'clock next morning, Massena carried the village of Porço Velho. The light division and cavalry were sent to support General Houston ; at the same time the 1st and 3rd divisions moved to their right, and the Guards being thrown back *en potence*, the

* The 92nd Regiment arrived on the position at Fuentes d'Onoro much distressed from want of provisions ; which circumstance being made known to the brigade of Guards, they volunteered giving up a ration of biscuit, then in their havresacks, which was received by the gallant Highlanders with three hearty cheers.—Colonel Mackinnon.

enemy were repulsed, and driven across the river again, with loss.*

A difficult and a dangerous change of position was now required; and Lord Wellington, retiring his right, formed line at right angles with his first formation. The new position was most formidable, extending from a hill topped by an ancient tower on the right, to the river of *Duas Casas* on the left; the village of *Fuentes d'Onoro*, in front, being occupied by the light troops. The French cavalry advanced in mass against that part of the line where the Guards were formed; but being checked by the fire of the Household Troops, a few rounds of grape from a brigade of nine-pounders sent them about in great confusion.

Meanwhile, a formidable attack was repeated on *Fuentes d'Onoro*, upon which infantry, cavalry, and artillery were all brought to bear, the assault being made at the same moment on flanks and front together. A furious fight took place in the streets and churchyard; but after one of the closest and most desperate combats that has ever been maintained, a bayonet-charge of the 88th decided the contest; and the assailants, notwithstanding their vastly superior force, were driven with prodigious slaughter from *Fuentes*—the upper village remaining in possession of its gallant defenders, and the lower in the silent occupation of the dead.

Massena having withdrawn his columns, not daring to assail the new position taken up by his opponents, the British lighted their fires, posted their piquets, and occupied the field they had so bravely held. With a confident assurance that the battle was only intermitted till the return of daylight, they threw up some works to defend the village and the ground behind it; but these precautions were unnecessary, for Massena remained all

* At this period of the action, Don Julian Sanchez, the famous guerilla leader, having left *Nava d'Aver* with his men, and placed himself immediately in front of the Guards, his lieutenant was unfortunately shot by a soldier of the Coldstream, who mistook him for a Frenchman. Don Julian was dreadfully enraged, and could scarcely be persuaded that it was a mistake.

the next day in front of his antagonist, showing no wish to renew the combat. The 7th found the British, as usual, under arms at dawn; but the day passed as quietly as the preceding, and on the 8th the French columns were observed in full retreat, marching on the road to Ciudad Rodrigo.

With an army reinforced by every battalion and squadron he could collect from Galicia and Castile, Massena was thus completely beaten by a wing of the British army, consisting of three divisions only; for Wellington fought this battle with a divided force, the investment of Badajoz and Almeida being carried on at the same time. The object for which the French marshal fought the battle was unattained; he failed in succouring the beleaguered city, and Almeida was left to its fate.

Massena was immediately after recalled to France; and the Duke of Ragusa, who had been appointed in his stead to the command of the army in Portugal, arrived from Paris on the 7th of May. Having assumed the command, Marmont retired towards Salamanca, in the neighbourhood of which city his army was placed in cantonments, and the British Guards returned to the stations they had occupied before the battle.

On the 15th of May, Soult's army was defeated by Beresford at the battle of Albuera; but as the Guards took no part in the action, a description of it would be misplaced in the present work. For the same reason we omit the first and second siege of Badajos, the affair of El Bodon, and a few others of minor importance. On the 22nd of September Marmont joined his forces with General Dorsenne, and relieved Ciudad Rodrigo, which he entered with a large convoy on the 24th. Two days after, the French advanced in great force, and obliged the allies to retreat. Next day the village of Aldea de Ponte was attacked by the enemy, and gallantly contested by the 4th division. After dark the British again retreated, and took up a strong position behind the Soito. Here Wellington offered the enemy battle, but

Marmont fell back on Ciudad Rodrigo, and Dorsenne returned to the north. The allied army went into cantonments in October: the brigade of Guards was stationed in front of Celerico, and the head-quarters were at Frenada.

The campaign of 1812 opened with the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, which was invested on the 6th of January. After dark, Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne, with a detachment of the light division, stormed and carried an advanced redoubt on the Great Teson. Sir Thomas Graham was intrusted with the direction of the siege. The brigade of Guards formed the working party in the trenches on the 9th, on which night the first parallel was established, and the several batteries marked out. The Guards were in the trenches also on the 13th, when a fortified convent, situated on the right of the redoubt before taken, was carried by their light infantry companies, supported by Lord Blantyre's brigade.

The garrison made a sortie on the 14th, and were repulsed, without effecting any injury except filling in a part of the sap. In the evening the batteries opened, and the convent of St. Francisco, which flanked the approaches on the left, was escaladed and carried by the 40th Regiment. On the 17th, the Guards again took their turn in the trenches, and the second parallel was completed; but Wellington determined to order an assault the moment the breaches were deemed practicable, without waiting for the opening of the sap to blow in the counterscarp. As every exertion was made, two breaches were completed on the 19th, when orders were issued for the assault, General Picton's division being directed to storm the greater breach, and General Craufurd's the smaller. The columns accordingly moved forward after dark: the bags thrown into the ditch by the sappers reduced the depth one-half; ladders were instantly raised, the storming-party mounted, and, after a short but severe struggle, the breach was won.

General Craufurd was mortally wounded, whilst leading

his division up the glacis. General Mackinnon was killed, with many others, by the unfortunate explosion of a magazine, after a shower of grape and musketry, and just as the troops had pushed on and cleared the breach.* The allies lost, during the siege and in the storming, about one thousand three hundred men. Seventy-eight officers and seventeen hundred men of the French were made prisoners, besides a heavy loss in killed and wounded.

As soon as Ciudad Rodrigo was again placed in a state of defence, and supplied with stores and provisions, Wellington planned his arrangements for the reduction of Badajos. The army in consequence was put in movement for the South; and in February no British troops remained in the Agueda, or at any point north of the Tagus. The first division marched to Elvas, and encamped close to the town, when tents were furnished the men for the first time. On the 16th, they broke up, and the brigade of Guards crossed the Guadiana over a pontoon bridge, below the town of Badajos, which was thus invested by the 3rd, 4th, and light divisions under Beresford; and the 1st, 6th, and 7th, under Graham.

The siege of Badajos was prosecuted without intermission, though torrents of rain had swept away the pontoon bridge; and, from the rapidity of the current, the flying bridges could only be worked with great difficulty. These obstacles occasioned supplies of all descriptions to be kept back; and the trenches on the low ground were filled with water.

The second parallel was formed; enfilading and breaching batteries had been erected; and on the 6th of April, after the firing had been kept up seven days, the breaches were deemed practicable. At ten o'clock, P.M., simultaneous attacks were made: the first that succeeded was

* The survivors of the explosion dug a grave inside the breach, and there hastily buried the body of their gallant general. After the confusion consequent on the storming had ceased, the officers of the Coldstream Guards, in which he had long served, raised his honoured remains, and interred them at Espeja with military honours.

that of Picton's division, led by General Kemp. General Walker, with his brigadé, also entered by escalade on the Olivença road. General Philippon, the commandant, escaped to St. Christoval, a fort on the opposite side of the Guadiana, which shortly after surrendered. The number of prisoners taken in Badajos amounted to nearly four thousand. The loss of the allies, from the commencement of the siege, was about five thousand men.

Wellington left Hill's corps on the south of the Tagus, and put his army in motion for the north ; for during the siege of Badajos, Marmont had advanced as far as Castello Banco ; but when informed of Wellington's movement, he retreated towards Ciudad Rodrigo, and, having raised the blockade of that place, retired on Salamanca.

The British head-quarters were again established at Fuente Guinaldo in May, and the troops cantoned between the Agueda and the Coa.

CHAPTER XV.

Lord Wellington crosses the Frontier—Arrival at Salamanca—The Forts invested—Skirmishing between the Armies—Surrender of the Forts—Preparatory Movements of both Armies—Battle of Salamanca—Fatal Manœuvre of Marmont—Gallant Defence of Arapiles by the Guards—Defeat of the French—They retreat to Burgos—Triumphal Entry of the British into Madrid—Occupation of Burgos and Siege of the Castle—Gallant Assault of the Guards—Siege discontinued—Retreat of the British Army—Perilous Passage of a Bridge—Dreadful Weather, and Privations of the Army—Arrival in Portugal—Winter Cantonments.

EARLY in June, 1812, the British divisions began to prepare for a forward movement. On the 13th, the cantonnments on the Agueda were broken up, and Lord Wellington crossed the frontier. The weather was fine, the condition of the army was excellent, and the most exact discipline was preserved. The route lay principally through forest lands, and for days the march was continued at leisure ; but no enemy appeared, until, on clearing the forest of Valmasa, the German Hussars, in advance, had

a slight skirmish with a French piquet in front of Salamanca.

The situation of this city is bold and imposing, standing on high ground on the right bank of the Tormes, and surrounded by a fine champaign country divested of wood, but interspersed with numerous clay-built villages. The Duke of Ragusa, aware of the advance of the allies, collected all his disposable force, and occupied the heights south of the river ; but during the night he evacuated the city, leaving the forts he had constructed amply stored with provisions and ammunition, and garrisoned by eight hundred men.

The 6th division took possession of the city, while the others bivouacked in its immediate vicinity ; and nothing could surpass the delight of the inhabitants when they found themselves liberated from a bondage which they had endured for three long years. But it was only for a brief time that the advance of the allies was uninterrupted. The convent of San Vincente, placed on a perpendicular cliff rising from the bed of the Tormes, had been fortified by Marmont with admirable skill ; while the convents of La Merced and Cayetand, on the farther bank of the stream, were converted into strong redoubts, ditched, escarped, and casemated. A place so capable of defence could not be left occupied by a hostile garrison in the rear of an advancing army ; but as it could only be reduced by a regular attack, the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, was therefore selected for this duty, and the rest of the army was kept in readiness to check the enemy, who were anxious to hold a communication with the forts.

Marmont, who had retired from Salamanca with great reluctance, having collected reinforcements, made a forward movement on the 20th with sixty thousand men, determined to offer battle. He found the allies posted on the height of San Christoval, their right resting on the Tormes, near Carbrerizos, and their left near Villares de la Reyna. A skirmish took place with the cavalry,

and during the night of the 21st the enemy established themselves on the right flank of the position, from which they were afterwards dislodged by the 7th division.

At this time a premature attempt to carry the principal fort, San Vincente, failed ; and Major-General Bowes, with one hundred and twenty men, were killed. Three rockets thrown up from the fort apprised Marmont of this failure, and on the morning of the 24th he crossed the Tormes in great force ; but finding that the 1st, 6th, and 7th divisions, under Graham, had also forded the river with some cavalry and artillery, he returned and re-occupied his former ground.

A few days after a spirited cannonade ensued, the British guns firing on San Vincente with red-hot shot, which speedily set its inflammable materials in a blaze. The men were formed ready for an assault, when a proposition was made to capitulate in three hours ; in reply to which Wellington gave them five minutes to march out, promising them their baggage. The garrison not taking advantage of the offer, the storming-party advanced, under Lieutenant-Colonel Davies of the 36th regiment. The small fort was carried, and the attack on San Vincente had commenced, when the commandant accepted the proposed terms. About seven hundred men were made prisoners, the works blown up, and the captured guns and stores given to the Spaniards.

After the capture of these forts, Marmont retreated behind the Douro, where he concentrated his forces, his centre resting on Tordesillas ; and the allies, following his line of march, bivouacked on the Guarena. The French marshal frequently made demonstrations as if he intended to make a stand ; but, aware that he should soon possess a numerical superiority over his able opponent, he only manœuvred to gain time. His reinforcements having at length effected a junction, and having, on the 18th of July, opened his communication with the army of the centre, he prepared to become the assailant. Between this and the 21st a variety of skilful manœuvres took

place on both sides to out-flank each other, till at last, before daylight on the following morning, both armies were in position ; the right of the allies extending nearly to the steep heights called the Sister Arapiles, and the left resting on the Tormes. The enemy's front was covered by a wood.

At daybreak on the 22nd much skirmishing took place. About eight o'clock a French column advanced, and seized on the farthest and most extensive of the Arapiles, while the British troops immediately took possession of the other. Some changes were then made in the arrangements of the allied army ; and a succession of manœuvres on the part of the enemy showed that it was Marmont's intention, by a rapid march to his left, to turn the right of the allies. In this, probably, against a less skilful general than Wellington, he might have succeeded ; but in making the attempt, which was covered by a constant skirmish and cannonade along the whole front, he pushed his left too far, and thus weakened his centre. This false manœuvre brought on the crisis of the day : the moment for action had come ; Wellington seized the opportunity, and struck the blow.

At this time the 1st and light divisions formed the left of the British army ; the 4th and 5th were drawn up in two lines behind the village of Arapiles ; the 6th and 7th, and the Spaniards, under Don Carlos de Espana, were in column for their support. On the right was the division of Major-General Pakenham, with the greater part of the cavalry. The village of Arapiles, which the enemy made repeated but fruitless efforts to carry during the day, was situated between the two armies, and was occupied and most gallantly defended by the light companies of the Guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Woodford* of the Coldstream.

Pakenham commenced the action, by advancing in four columns along the valley, assailing the left flank of the enemy, and driving it before him in great confusion,

* Now Lieutenant-General Sir Alexander Woodford, G.C.B.

D'Urban's Portuguese Dragoons, and Harvey's light cavalry (the 14th), protected the flank during the movement ; and, when the French became disordered, charged boldly in and sabred the broken infantry. On reaching the heights where the enemy were posted, Pakenham deployed into line without halting, his right outflanking the enemy's left : he then advanced and carried everything at the point of the bayonet, the cavalry making a successful charge in front, during which General Le Marchant was killed.

Meanwhile General Pack, with the Portuguese brigade, failed more than once to carry the Arapiles hill occupied by the French. The enemy, after repulsing them, advanced from the height, and suddenly attacked the left of the 4th division ; the disorder thus occasioned was checked by the advance of part of the 5th ; the 3rd and 4th divisions then moved forward and crowned the height.

The last stand made by the enemy was on their right, where they attempted to rally, their troops having retired in good order from the Arapiles. Here they were opposed by the 1st division (including the Guards) and the light, while Clinton's division was ordered to advance to their support. The ceaseless roll of musketry, and the thunder of fifty guns, told how furiously the battle-ground was disputed ; till at last, no longer able to withstand an enemy that seemed determined to sweep everything before it, the French retired in confusion, and the first and light divisions followed in pursuit from sunset, till darkness and fatigue compelled them to halt.

The loss of the allies in this sanguinary conflict exceeded five thousand men, killed and wounded.* The French are estimated to have lost seven thousand killed and wounded, as many prisoners, two eagles and eleven pieces of cannon. Several general officers were killed and wounded on both sides.

* "The allied loss in the battle of the 22nd and previous operations was nearly 6000; the Spanish proportion being *two men killed and four wounded*."—*Mackie*.

We make the following extract from Lord Wellington's despatch of the battle of Salamanca :

"I must also mention Lieutenant-Colonel Woodford, commanding the light battalion of the brigade of Guards ; who, supported by two companies of the Fusiliers, under the command of Captain Crowder, maintained the village of Arapiles against all the efforts of the enemy."

Great indeed was the joy evinced by the inhabitants of Salamanca at the total discomfiture of their French oppressors. From all the high grounds about the city the changes of the fight had been watched with painful anxiety ; and when the struggle ended, and the day was won, mules and cars loaded with refreshments were despatched from Salamanca to the field of battle, where they arrived before break of day. Hospitals were also prepared for the reception of the wounded, and every exertion employed to assuage the sufferings of their gallant allies.

The Duke of Ragusa having been wounded, the command of the French army devolved on General Clausel, who retreated to Valladolid, closely pursued by the British, who entered that city on the 30th of July ; but as the French General continued his retreat to Burgos, Wellington determined to march against the army of the centre ; and, recrossing the Douro for this purpose, proceeded by Segovia to Madrid. On the 12th of August, the allies entered the capital of Spain, from which Joseph had retreated with the army of the centre ; and it is needless to say that the British were received by the whole population with the greatest enthusiasm.

Some of the consequences of the battle of Salamanca were the evacuation of Madrid, and the abandonment of the siege of Cadiz, on the 25th of August. Two days after, the combined force under General La Cruz and Colonel Skerret entered Seville. Here the enemy attempted to defend the bridge ; but the Grenadiers of the 1st Guards charged with the bayonet, and put them to flight. Several of their number were left dead in the

streets, and more than two hundred prisoners were taken, with a quantity of baggage, horses, and money. The occupation of Madrid carried out the effects produced by the victory of Salamanca. French domination received a death-blow, and the power of Napoleon a shock from which it never after recovered.

Soon after the occupation of Madrid, the Spanish army was driven from Galicia, and Clausel threatened to interrupt the communications of the allies with Portugal. Lord Wellington, therefore, decided on marching against the army he had beaten at Salamanca: he accordingly left Madrid on the 1st of September; and, crossing the Douro on the 6th, marched direct on Burgos. A few days after, the British entered the city of Burgos, from which the French had previously retired, after throwing a garrison of two thousand five hundred men into the castle.

This was a weak fortress, standing on a bold and rocky height, and was surrounded by three distinct lines, each within the other, and variously defended; but though weak in itself, it was strongly defended by field-works, which bristled with cannon, and commanded the river. The place was invested on the 19th, and the siege intrusted to the 1st and 6th divisions; but nothing could be less efficient than the *matériel* of the besiegers. Three long eighteen-pounders, and five twenty-four-pound howitzers, formed the entire siege-artillery that Lord Wellington could obtain.

During the night of the 19th, a detachment from the 42nd regiment stormed and carried a horn-work on the hill of St. Michael, which covered the lower wall of the castle. On the night of the 22nd, the besiegers endeavoured to escalate, and establish themselves on the outer wall and first line of field-works: they failed, however, in the attempt, and retired with considerable loss. A week after, a mine was exploded; but though working parties had been constantly in the trenches constructing batteries, the breach was not deemed practicable.

Early in October, the Commander of the Forces had

occasion to notice in orders the misconduct of several of these working-parties, but, at the same time, observed that "he was happy to make an exception in favour of the Guards, who, he is informed, have invariably performed this duty, as they have every other in this army, in the most exemplary manner."

A second breach was made on the evening of the 4th of October, and a lodgment effected between the outer wall and the first line of field-works; but the garrison drove back the British, who, however, on being reinforced, obliged the French to retire behind their defences. Before daylight on the 8th, the garrison made a rush, overthrew the guard, and destroyed all the works between the second line and outer wall.

On the 18th, a new breach was reported practicable, and an assault decided on; the storming-party to consist of volunteers from the Guards and the German Legion, the signal arranged being the springing of a mine beneath the church of San Roman. That building was also to be assailed, while the new breach was to be escaladed by the Germans, and the old one by the Guards; and thus at the same moment three distinct attacks would occupy the enemy's attention.

At half-past four, the explosion of the mine gave the signal; but a counter-mine being immediately sprung by the French, between both the church was partially destroyed, and Colonel Browne, with some Portuguese and Spanish troops, seized upon the ruined building. At that moment the Guards rushed through the old breach, escaladed the second line, and, with a shout of victory, encountered the French in considerable force in front of the third. Two hundred of the German Legion had also carried the new breach, and pushed up the hill to where the Guards were maintaining a murderous conflict with overwhelming numbers of the enemy. Unfortunately, however, from some mistake which has never been explained, these daring and successful efforts were not supported with the promptness that was necessary. This

enabled the French commandant to bring the whole force of his garrison against the bold assailants, whose numbers were now thinning very fast from the concentrated fire of parapet and embrasure. The French reserves were accordingly advanced, fresh and eager for the combat: they came on in overwhelming force, pushed the storming-party down the hill, cleared the breaches of the assailants, and drove them beyond the outer line, with the loss of two hundred officers and men.

With this affair the siege virtually terminated; and the French army under Clausel being strongly reinforced, Lord Wellington, by an imperious necessity, was obliged to retire from a place of scarcely third-rate character, after four attacks by assault and a loss of two thousand men; though had he possessed the requisite *matériel* for the conduct of a siege, Burgos must have been taken in a week.

The following is an extract from Lord Wellington's despatch, detailing the operations against the castle of Burgos on the 18th of October:—"It is impossible to represent in adequate terms my sense of the conduct of the Guards and German Legion upon this occasion; and I am quite satisfied that if it had been possible to maintain the posts which they had gained with so much gallantry, these troops would have maintained them. Some of the men stormed even the third line, and one was killed in one of the embrasures of that line. I had reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the officers and troops during the siege of Burgos, particularly with the brigade of Guards."

On the 21st of October, the siege of Burgos was regularly raised, and Lord Wellington issued orders for retiring from before the place.*

The line of retreat chosen by his lordship crossed the

* The name of the French officer who commanded in Burgos was Colonel Le Breton. After the restoration of the Bourbons, this officer held the rank of Lieutenant-General, and, while commanding in Strasburg, had an opportunity of paying military honours with that garrison to the Duke of Wellington, who was then on an inspection of the frontiers.—*Colonel Mackinnon.*

river of Arlanzan at Burgos, by which the distance would be shortened by a day's march, but the army must defile directly under the guns of the castle. The strictest secrecy was accordingly observed, while all was prepared for a night-march. When darkness had shrouded the besiegers and the besieged, the position was quietly abandoned; the infantry defiled across the bridge in perfect silence, while the wheels of the gun-carriages were muffled with straw, to prevent their being overheard by the French sentinels, and thus provoking a fire from the place.

This dangerous passage would have been accomplished without discovery, had not some guerilla horsemen rashly galloped over, and betrayed to the garrison the movement of the allies then in progress. In anticipation of the attempt, the guns of the castle having been already trained upon the bridge, the first discharge from the French artillery was destructive; but the range was lost after a round or two, and in the darkness it could not be recovered.

The retreat continued for several days before the overwhelming force of the now united armies of Clausel and Souham, and repeated skirmishing took place between the rear-guard of the British and the advance of the enemy. On the 24th of October, reinforcements, which had disembarked at Corunna under the Earl of Dalhousie, composed principally of the first brigade of Guards, joined the army in position behind the Carrion. Next day the bridges over the Carrion and Pisuerga were blown up to arrest the progress of the enemy.*

* At the latter place the following amusing piece of French gallantry occurred:—"Suddenly a horseman, darting out at full speed from the column, rode down, under a flight of bullets, to the bridge, calling out that he was a deserter: he reached the edge of the chasm made by the explosion, and then, violently checking his foaming horse, held up his hands, exclaiming that he was a lost man, and with hurried accents asked if there was no ford near. The good-natured soldiers pointed to one a little way off, and the gallant fellow having looked earnestly for a few moments, as if to fix the exact point, wheeled his horse round, kissed his hand in derision, and, bending over the saddle-bow, dashed back to his own comrades, amidst showers of shot and shouts of laughter from both sides."—*Napier*.

On the 29th, Wellington, after destroying the bridges at Valladolid and Cabezon, passed the river by those of Tudela and Ponte Duero. He was joined by Sir Rowland Hill on the 5th of November, and on the 8th halted in front of Salamanca. Meanwhile, the French armies of the north, south, and centre, had formed a junction under the command of Soult. On the 14th, the hostile armies being in each other's presence, Lord Wellington formed beside the Arapiles, and offered battle, which was declined, though the united French corps numbered seventy-five thousand infantry, twelve thousand cavalry, and two hundred pieces of cannon ; while the whole of the allied force that Wellington could place upon a battle-field did not exceed fifty-five thousand Anglo-Portuguese, of which five thousand only were horse.

From this immense disparity of force, Wellington was obliged to move promptly by his right, and seize the roads leading into Portugal. The weather was desperate, rain fell in torrents, the roads were rendered almost impassable, the men were knee-deep in the sloughs, and the transport of the guns and baggage had become a work of infinite difficulty. At last, however, Ciudad Rodrigo was gained on the 18th, and the frontier crossed on the 20th of November.

Here the retreat virtually closed. The weather improved ; and, having fallen back upon his resources, Lord Wellington was enabled to recruit his exhausted soldiery. Abundant fuel, dry bivouacs, and plentiful rations produced a speedy change ; and men, wearied and worn down by privations and incessant fatigue, rapidly recovered their health and spirits.

The army having crossed the Agueda on the 24th of November, head-quarters were once more established at Frenada, and the troops went into cantonments for the winter. On the 6th of December, the Guards reached Musquetello, where they were quartered.

CHAPTER XVI.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1813--The Household Cavalry in the Peninsula--Strength of the Allies, and of the French in Spain--The Allies enter Spain--The French retire towards the Frontier--Take up a position at Vittoria--Battle of Vittoria--Charge of the Life Guards--Total defeat of the French Army--Dreadful Confusion of their Retreat--Siege of St. Sebastian--First attempt to Storm--Soult repulsed from the Pyrenees--St. Sebastian breached--The Guards at the Assault--The Town carried by Storm--Surrender of the Castle.

WINTER passed away, the army recovered from its hardships, and Lord Wellington was indefatigable in perfecting the equipment of every department, to enable him to take the field efficiently when the season should come round, and active operations could be again renewed. Nothing could surpass the splendid state of discipline produced by this period of inactivity, while the allied army was reposing in winter quarters. Its *matériel* was now truly magnificent, powerful reinforcements having arrived from England. The Household Cavalry, after a continued period of home service of more than sixty years, were now again called upon to take the field.* Among other troops sent out in the autumn of 1812 were two squadrons from each regiment of Life Guards, with two squadrons of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Oxford Blues), which were formed into one brigade, and called the Household Cavalry Brigade.

* During this period, however, their services at home were often of a most painful and important nature; for instance: the House of Commons having ordered one of its members (Sir Francis Burdett) to be taken into custody and lodged in the Tower, great public excitement was occasioned, and the Life Guards were frequently called upon to disperse riotous assemblages of the populace. The violence of the rioters, in several instances, rendered severe measures indispensable; and some destruction of human life resulted, although to a small extent, notwithstanding the treatment which the military received from the populace. The conduct of the Life Guards on these trying occasions, their promptitude, alacrity, firmness, and particularly their forbearance under the greatest provocation and insult, were such as to obtain the approbation of their sovereign, and of the magistrates upon whose requisition they were called upon to aid in enforcing the law and in suppressing the disturbances.

They embarked at Portsmouth about the end of October, and, after experiencing much severe weather at sea, which caused the death of a number of troop-horses, landed at the capital of Portugal about the end of November.

The cavalry arm, hitherto the weakest, was thus increased to nineteen efficient regiments. The infantry had been recruited from the militias at home, the artillery was complete in every requisite for the field ; while a well-arranged commissariat, with ample means of transport, facilitated the operations of the most serviceable force that had ever taken the field under the leading of an English general. The Anglo-Portuguese army, at this period, numbered close upon seventy thousand men of all arms, cantoned in the neighbourhood of the Douro.

The total destruction, during the winter of 1812, of the immense army led by the Emperor of France into Russia, made it necessary for him to withdraw a part of his troops from Spain, and Soult, with a considerable body, had been ordered to join the grand army in Germany ; but, notwithstanding this diminution, the force left in Spain amounted to upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand men, part of whom were in Catalonia and Valencia, and the remainder spread over Castile, Leon, and the northern provinces.

All the requisite preparations for opening the campaign being completed, on the 16th of May, 1813, five divisions, under Graham, crossed the Douro in boats, with orders to march on Zamora. Wellington, with the cavalry under General Fane, and a corps of Spaniards, reached Salamanca towards the end of the month ; and Sir Rowland Hill also arrived there from Estramadura.

While the allies were preparing to march, Joseph Bonaparte put the army of the centre in motion, and, followed by those of the south and Portugal, retired slowly on the Ebro. As they were not pressed by the British light troops, the enemy's corps moved leisurely towards the frontier, accompanied by enormous trains of baggage and equipages. Those of the Spanish *noblesse* who had acknowledged the

usurper now accompanied his retreat. State functionaries, in court dresses and rich embroidery, were mingled with the troops ; calashes, carrying wives or mistresses, moved between brigades of guns ; while nuns from Castile and ladies from Andalusia, attired *en militaire* and mounted on horseback, deserted castle and convent to follow the fortunes of some soldier or *employé*. Excepting that of his great brother, when retreating from Moscow, no army since the days of Xerxes was so overloaded with spoil and baggage as that of Joseph Bonaparte.*

We would fain dwell upon the marches and manœuvres by which the army of England was now driving before it the legions of Napoleon, encumbered with the spoils of a plundered country, yet still formidable beyond anything that Wellington had hitherto encountered ; but diminished space warns us not to indulge too long in such a glorious theme, and we must hasten forward to the crowning triumph of the Peninsular war. Suffice it to say, that no movements during that long-protracted struggle ever exceeded in brilliant effect the rapid advance of the allied army from the Douro to the Bayas ; on the left of which stream the enemy's rear-guard was found on the 19th of June, posted in a strong position, from which it was driven on the main body of the army, then in full retreat on Vittoria.

The French army, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, with Marshal Jourdan for his Major-General, was concentrated in position in front of Vittoria. Their right was stationed near that city, and extended across the Zadora on high ground covered by field-works ; their left ran behind the river to the village of Subijana de Alava, with an advance-post resting on the height in front, which terminated at Puebla d'Arlanzon ; and the centre occupied a hill commanding the valley of Zadora. In this position their right covered the road from Bilboa, their left that from Lagrono, and their centre the great road from Madrid.

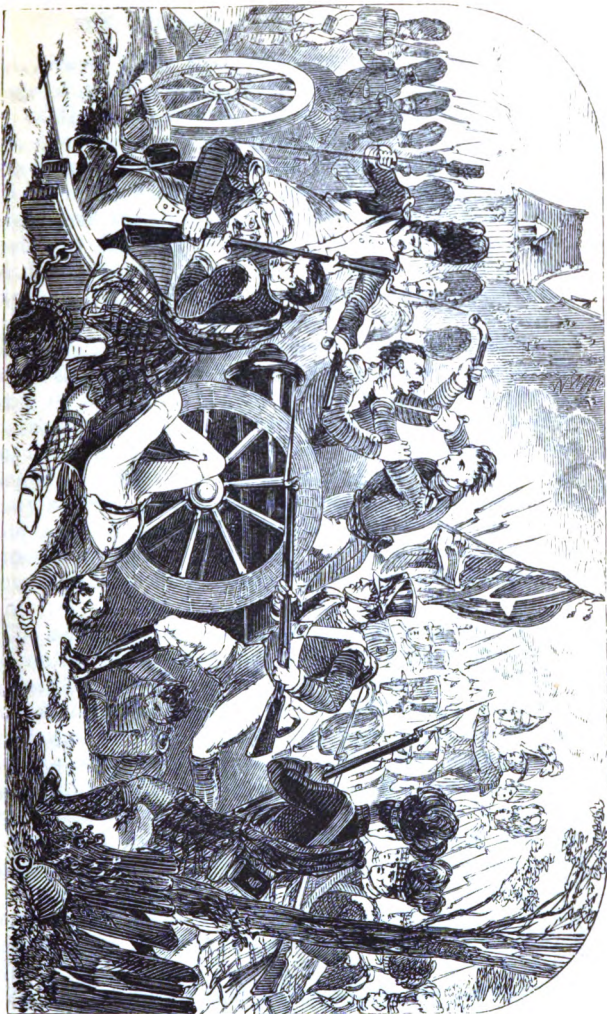
* Maxwell.

On the 20th, Wellington reconnoitred the enemy's position ; and, at daybreak on the morning of the memorable 21st of June, the troops of the several nations composing the army under his command moved forward in three columns from their camps on the banks of the Bayas. The right column, commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, drove the enemy's left from the mountains of Puebla at the point of the bayonet ; then crossed the Zadora, and attacked the heights of Subijana de Alava. The troops advanced under a heavy cannonade, and the contest was severe ; but, undismayed by the formidable aspect of the foe, and regardless of a shower of bullets, the British infantry rushed forward, dislodged the enemy, and drove him back on his reserve. In vain the French endeavoured to regain those heights : columns of attack were formed, repeated efforts were made, but all without success. The enemy then withdrew his advanced posts from the Zadora, and his left fell back for the defence of Vittoria.

During these operations, two divisions of the allied army crossed the Zadora at Nanclares and Tres Puentes ; two divisions also crossed by the bridge on the Mendoza road, and both columns advanced against the heights in the centre : Sir Rowland Hill, at the same time, pressing closely on the enemy's left wing in its retiring movement. The enemy's centre, however, stood firm, and poured so destructive a fire upon the columns marching against it as to check the advance, until supported by two brigades of Horse Artillery ; when, notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground, the destructive fire of the enemy's batteries, and the incessant volleys of musketry, the British infantry advanced "like a storm along the streamy vale," bore down all opposition, carried the heights, captured twenty-eight pieces of artillery, and drove the enemy back on Vittoria.

In the mean time the left column of the allies, which included the Foot Guards and was commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, attacked the enemy's

BATTLE OF VITTORIA.



right, drove them from the heights commanding the village of Abechuco, and then advanced against the village of Gamarra Mayor, which was carried in gallant style, the enemy being dislodged at the point of the bayonet with great slaughter and the loss of three guns. Two powerful attempts to regain the village were repulsed; but the bridges across the Zadora being commanded by the heights on the left, and these being occupied by a strong reserve, the left column of the allied army could not advance until the reserve troops were driven from the heights.

The brigade of Life and Horse Guards then advanced against the enemy, by the road through the valley in the centre of the position; and the nature of the ground favouring an attempt to turn the flank of a French division, the brigade defiled along the side of a mountain and charged so effectually as to accomplish this object, the enemy retiring after a short cannonade. The brigade then made a quick *détour* to the left, round the base of an eminence, to gain the rear of a column posted on some rising ground in front of the Zadora, and put that also to flight.

The centre division of the allies drove the enemy from the valley, and, continuing to press forward, penetrated his position beyond the walls of Vittoria, when the right wing of the French army retired hastily from its ground. Sir Thomas Graham immediately crossed the Zadora, and took possession of the Bayonne road. The enemy's baggage, heavy artillery, military chests, and equipages, with several columns of the army, having been put in motion by that road, were intercepted, and forced back into the Pampeluna road, which was now the only one left open to them. Confusion and dismay spread among the enemy's ranks; and their troops becoming mixed with the baggage, were reduced to a disorganised mass incapable of military operations.

The face of the ground along which the Life Guards advanced was so rugged that their operations were for

some time limited to supporting the columns of attack. After penetrating the enemy's position to the walls of Vittoria, part of the 1st regiment of Life Guards took possession of the town, while the remainder of the brigade formed line to the right, and advanced against a corps of French infantry, which had taken up a position to cover the retreat of their army. These troops were formed on some heights, their right resting on the Pampeluna road, and the left communicating with a column of infantry which was endeavouring to hold in check the allied forces on the right. When advancing to the charge, the progress of the brigade was impeded by a deep ravine ; the two regiments of Life Guards leaped over the obstruction, but not without leaving a few men and horses struggling at the bottom, from whence, however, they were extricated without loss of life. The Royal Horse Guards wheeled to their right, and crossed the ravine some distance lower down ; having overcome the difficulty, and being again united, the brigade continued rapidly to advance. The French, astonished at their success, made but a feeble defence : they were overwhelmed and scattered by the charge of the Household Cavalry, flying precipitately from the heights, leaving the Pampeluna road undefended, and choked with flying troops, baggage, cattle, and provision carts.

The attacks of the allies were crowned with success in every part of the field. The formation of the French was totally destroyed, and their disorganisation completed ; and an army, perfect at sunrise in every arm, had become at evening a mixed and helpless mob. The whole baggage and field-equipage of three distinct armies fell, on this occasion, into the hands of the conquerors. One hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, four hundred caissons, twelve thousand rounds of ammunition, and two millions of musket-cartridges, with a thousand prisoners, were taken, besides a full military chest and the *bâton* of Marshal Jourdan. The casualties on both sides were heavy. The allies lost 700 killed and 4000 wounded ; the loss of the

French is estimated at 8000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. The accumulated plunder of years, wrung by the French army from every corner of the Peninsula, fell, of course, into the hands of the captors.*

The day after this glorious battle, the left wing of the British army, under Sir Thomas Graham, advanced on Bilboa, in hopes of intercepting General Foy. He made a stand at Tolosa; but Graham attacked and drove him beyond the frontier. Hill's corps followed the French on the Pampeluna road; and a strong force, including the Life Guards, drove Clausel's division through the pass of Jaca. Wellington was now in possession of the passes of the Pyrenees, and in the short space of two months had moved his victorious army from the frontier of Portugal to a position in the mountains from which he looked down upon the southern provinces of France.

Pampeluna and St. Sebastian were now the only two spots in all the Peninsula that were occupied by the French: Pampeluna was blockaded, and St. Sebastian was invested on the 1st of July by Sir Thomas Graham, with the 1st and 5th divisions, the former including the brigade of Foot Guards.

The town of St. Sebastian is built on a peninsula that is washed by the sea on the west and north, and by the river Urumea on the east; the citadel stands on a bold rocky height at the extreme point of the peninsula, and the town, which is strongly fortified, lies at its base. The besiegers erected their batteries on a range of sand-hills that are separated from the town by the river Urumea, which at that place is five or six hundred yards across. On the 17th of July, the convent of St. Bartholomew was breached and carried,† and on the 25th two prac-

* It is remarkable that, within sight of this ground, the battle of Najara was fought, in which Edward the Black Prince, acting as the ally of a bad man, defeated the best troops of France, under their most distinguished leader, Bertrand du Guesclin, who had come in support of a worse. It is also remarkable that the Prince of Brazil, before the battle of Vittoria was fought, should have conferred the title of Duque de Vittoria upon Lord Wellington.—*Southey*.

† Here a battery was erected, the covered way to which passed through the convent, and the battery itself was constructed in a thickly-peopled burial-

ticable breaches were made in the town wall from the sand-hills.

In carrying a parallel across the isthmus, the pipe of a ruined aqueduct was accidentally laid bare. It opened on a long drain, four feet in height and three feet wide. Through this dangerous opening Lieutenant Reid, of the Engineers, a young and zealous officer, crept even to the counterscarp of the hornwork, and, finding the passage there closed by a door, returned without an accident. Thirty barrels of powder were placed in this drain, and eight feet were stopped with sand-bags, thus forming a globe of compression, designed to blow, as through a tube, so much rubbish over the counterscarp as might fill the narrow ditch of the hornwork.* The springing of this mine under the glacis of the front line was the signal for a party of two thousand men, who were in readiness at day-break, to rush forward; and the unexpected explosion created so much alarm that it enabled the assailants to reach the breach with little loss; but in their attempt to ascend they were checked by a front and flank fire, which having destroyed five hundred, the remainder fell back upon their trenches.

The return of Soult at this period from Germany, to command the French force in the south, occasioned an interruption in the active operations of the siege. His first object was to relieve Pampeluna, then blockaded by a corps of Spaniards; after various conflicts, he advanced in two columns, amounting to thirty-five thousand men, against the passes of Maya and Roncesvalles. He was, however, repulsed in his attacks, and retreated with his army on the 31st of July. The allied army followed and

ground. A more ghastly circumstance can seldom have occurred in war; for coffins and corpses, in all stages of decay, were exposed when the soil was thrown up to form a defence against the fire from the town, and were used, indeed, in the defences; and when a shell burst there, it brought down the living and the dead together. In the scarcity of fire-wood, also, the soldiers broke up coffins for fuel to dress their food, leaving the bodies exposed to swelter in the sun.

* Napier. The officer here referred to was President of the Executive Committee of the Great Exhibition, and is now Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Malta.

came up with the enemy's rear-guard, strongly posted in the pass of Donna Maria, from which they were driven by the brigade under General Barnes.*

The siege of St. Sebastian was then resumed, and by the 28th of August the allies had got nearly eighty guns in battery,† whose fire upon the town continued without intermission, during the day-time, till the 30th, when the breaches were so extensively battered down that Lord Wellington ordered them to be assaulted, and the next morning was named for the attempt.

The storming-party, which formed early on the 31st, consisted of seven hundred and fifty volunteers, two hundred of whom were supplied by the Guards.‡

Morning broke gloomily, an intense mist obscured every object, and the work of slaughter was for a time delayed. At nine, the sea breeze cleared away the fog; the sun shone gloriously out, and in two hours the forlorn-hope issued from the trenches. The columns succeeded, and every gun from the fortress that could bear opened on them with shot and shells. The appearance of the breach was perfectly delusive; nothing living could reach the summit—no courage, however desperate, could overcome the difficulties, for they were alike unexpected and insurmountable. In vain the officers rushed forward, and devotedly were they followed by their men. From intrenched houses behind the breach, the traverses, and the ramparts of the curtain, a withering discharge of musketry was poured on the assailants; while the Mirador

* "I never saw such fighting as we have had here. It began on the 25th, and excepting the 29th, when not a shot was fired, we had it every day till the 2nd. The battle of the 28th was fair *bludgy* work. The 4th division was principally engaged, and the loss of the enemy was immense. Our loss has likewise been very severe, but not of a nature to cripple us."—*Letter from Lord Wellington to Lord William Bentinck, dated August 5, 1813.*

† Sailors were employed in constructing batteries, and never did men more thoroughly enjoy their occupation. They had double allowance of grog, as their work required; and at their own cost they had a fiddler. They who had worked their spell in the battery went to relieve their comrades in the dance; and at every shot that fell upon the castle they gave three cheers.

‡ Men were now invited to volunteer for the assault; such men, it was said, "as knew how to show other troops how to mount a breach." When this was communicated to the 4th division, which was to furnish four hundred men, *the whole moved forward.*—*Southey.*

and Prince batteries swept the approaches with their guns. To survive this concentrated fire was impossible; the forlorn-hope were cut off to a man, and the heads of the columns annihilated. At last the debouches were choked up with the dead and wounded, and a further passage to the breach rendered impracticable from the heap of corpses that were piled upon each other.

Then, in that desperate moment, when hope might have been supposed to be over, an expedient unparalleled in the records of war was resorted to. The British batteries opened on the curtain, and the storming-parties heard with surprise the roar of cannon in the rear ; while, but a few feet above their heads, their iron shower hissed horribly, and swept away the enemy and their defences.

This was the moment for a fresh effort. Another brigade was moved forward, and favoured by an accidental explosion upon the curtain, which confused the enemy, while it encouraged the assailants, the *terre-plein* was mounted, and the French driven from the works. A long and obstinate resistance was continued in the streets, which were, in many places, barricaded ; but by five in the evening opposition had ceased, and St. Sebastian was in possession of the British.

The unfortunate town seemed alike devoted by friends and enemies to destruction. The conquerors were roaming through the streets, the castle firing on the houses beneath its guns, in many places fires had broken out, and a storm of thunder, rain, and lightning added to the confusion of a scene which, even in warfare, finds no parallel.*

The castle, however, still held out ; but on the 8th of September it was so effectually bombarded that in a few hours it surrendered unconditionally, and the garrison, amounting to eighteen hundred men, laid down their arms.† The reduction of St. Sebastian cost the allies nearly four thousand men.

* Maxwell.

† "At noon the French garrison marched out of the castle-gate with the customary honours of war. At its head, with sword drawn and firm step,

CHAPTER XVII.

The position of Vera stormed and taken—Intense Cold in the Winter Bivouacs—The Allied Army ordered to advance into France—The Enemy's Lines attacked—And carried on every Point—Soult retreats on Bayonne—The Allies cantoned in France—The French are forced into Bayonne—Soult's attempt to break the Left Wing of the Allies—Defeated by the Guards—Winter Cantonments—Campaign of 1814—A Bridge thrown over the Adour—Gallant Action of the Guards—Battles of Orthez and Toulouse—Siege of Bayonne—Desperate Sortie of the Garrison—Bravely repelled by the Guards.

THE fall of St. Sebastian permitted the allied leader to prepare for a decisive movement. The enemy being strongly posted on the right bank of the Bidassoa, in front of Vera, Wellington, preparatory to assuming the offensive, determined to force that position and occupy it himself.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 7th of October, the first division, including the Guards and the 5th, with Wilson's Portuguese brigade, forded the Bidassoa at low water, for the purpose of driving the enemy from the mountain of La Rhune. A corps of Spaniards crossed the river higher up, and General Alten, with the light division, was to attack the pass of Vera.

Perfect success crowned this daring essay. The first and fifth divisions were nearly across the river before the French fire opened. Ground, difficult and broken in itself, had been carefully strengthened with numerous field-works, but all gave way before the desperate valour of the assailants; and the French were driven from their works with the loss of several guns. The light division, with the Spaniards under Longa, carried the intrenched

appeared General Rey, accompanied by Colonel Sonjeon, and the officers of his staff; as a token of respect we saluted him as he passed. The old general dropped his sword, in return to the civilities of the British officers; and leading the remains of his brave battalions to the glacis, there deposited their arms, with a well-founded confidence of having nobly done his duty, and persevered to the utmost in an energetic and brilliant defence."—*Leith Hay*.

position of Puerto-de-Vera.* Redoubt and abbatis were stoutly defended ; but the enemy was driven from all at the point of the bayonet. The victors bivouacked on the field they won, and, for the first time, the allied forces slept upon French ground.

Here the British commander established himself, and awaited the fall of Pampeluna, which took place on the 30th of October, when, after a blockade of four months, the place surrendered, and the garrison yielded themselves prisoners of war.

Winter had now set in, and a season of unusual severity commenced. The allies were sadly exposed to the weather, and an increasing difficulty was felt every day in procuring necessary supplies. Forage became very scarce ; and the over-driven cattle for the soldiers' rations were so wretchedly reduced in condition as to be little better than carrion. The cold at length became so intense that sentries were frozen at their posts, and a piquet, which was actually snowed up at Roncesvalles, was saved with great difficulty.

All this plainly showed that the present position of the allies was not tenable much longer, and that a forward movement into France was unavoidable. But in this great difficulties presented themselves ; for Soult's army had been powerfully reinforced by the last conscription, while, for the last three months, the French Marshal had been indefatigable in fortifying the whole line of his position, and strengthening his defences wherever the ground would admit the approach of an enemy.

But, calm and confident, Wellington, from the heights of the Pyrenees, looked down upon the well-guarded ter-

* When Downie's brigade betrayed a dangerous indecision, and declined to go forward, there happened to be present an officer of the 43rd regiment, named Haverlock, who, being attached to General Alten's staff, was sent to ascertain Giron's progress. His fiery temper could not brook the check. He took off his hat, he called upon the Spaniards to follow him, and, putting spurs to his horse, at one bound cleared the abbatis, and went headlong amongst the enemy. Then the soldiers, shouting for "*El chico blanco*," *the fair boy*, so they called him, for he was very young and had light hair, with one shock broke through the French, and this at the very moment when their centre was flying under the fire of Kemp's skirmishers from the Puerto-de-Vena.—*Napier*.

ritories of the great enemy of his country, and, with steady purpose, prepared to tame the pride of a mighty prince who, while he carried war and misery into almost every capital of Europe, made it his haughty boast that the women of the great nation had never seen the smoke of an enemy's camp. After long and carefully perusing the living map that lay spread out beneath his feet, Wellington ordered his army to advance, and on the 10th of November the troops descended from the Pyrenees through the mountain passes by moonlight, to transfer to France the calamities of domestic war, and teach the admirers of splendid but unprincipled aggression that there is at length a day of retribution.

Wellington had reconnoitred the enemy's position on the 7th, and arranged his plan of attack; and no operation could be more plain or straightforward: the centre, which rested on Petite la Rhune, and the heights of Sarré, was to be carried by columns of divisions, and the right centre turned. The allies, on reaching the line of piquets, halted preparatory to the attack, which was to commence at daylight, and they were so placed as to be concealed from the enemy.

At the dawn of day, a cannonade was commenced against some redoubts in front of Sarré; after which, the infantry rushed to the assault, and carried the works of the village. The light division forced the lines on Petite la Rhune; and the enemy having abandoned the redoubts, General Alten formed on the summit of the hill they had quitted. A more formidable position still remained behind, and Wellington combined his efforts for a vigorous and general attack.

The dispositions were soon complete, the word was given, and, in six columns, with a chain of skirmishers in front, the allies advanced to the onset. Forward they went with irresistible bravery, and to withstand their assault was impossible. Masses, posted on the steep heights of Sarré, were forced from them by the bayonet, though hand and foot were often required to enable the assault-

ing party to reach them. Work after work was stormed, and redoubts were carried at a run; or so rapidly turned by the different brigades, that the defenders had scarcely time to escape by the rear. Nothing could resist the dash and intrepidity of the British; and over the whole extent of that formidable position on no point did the attack fail. The French being driven from their works, fled in great disorder down the hill, with a view to reach the bridges over the Nivelle.

The centre of the enemy's line being thus broken, they concentrated on the heights above St. Pé; whence they were dislodged, while forming, by a flank movement of the 3rd and 7th divisions on the left, in conjunction with the 6th division, which marched in the opposite direction. The centre of the allies was established in rear of the enemy's right; the close of day put an end to the operations; and Soult, under cover of the night, withdrew, and retired to Bayonne. During these movements, the enemy lost fifty guns, two thousand men, fifteen hundred prisoners, and great quantities of stores and ammunition. The loss of the allies was under six hundred killed, and two thousand wounded.

Soult concentrated his army in an entrenched camp in front of Bayonne, and the allies went into cantonments between the ridge of Nivelle and the sea. This change was productive of great advantages; for the wearied soldiery obtained rest and many comforts, which in their mountain bivouacs were unattainable; and a month's rest in tolerable quarters recruited the exhausted army, and produced the best results.*

On crossing the Bidassoa, Sir Thomas Graham, who had been appointed to head the force in Holland, was succeeded in the command of the left wing of the army by Sir John Hope. It consisted of the 1st division (which

* "They" (the French soldiers), says Quartermaster Surtees, "used to get us such things as we wanted from Bayonne, particularly brandy, which was cheap and plentiful; and we in return gave them occasionally a little tea, of which some of them had learned to be fond. Some of them also, who had been prisoners of war in England, sent letters through our army-post to their sweet-hearts in England, our people receiving the letters and forwarding them."

included the Guards), under Major-General Howard, with the 5th division, the independent, and two Portuguese brigades. The centre was formed in two columns, comprising the 3rd, 4th, and 7th divisions, under Marshal Beresford, with the Spanish army of reserve, supported by a brigade of cavalry. The 6th and Portuguese division, under Sir John Hamilton, and the Spanish division, commanded by Morillo, formed the right wing of the army.

As Wellington had merely waited to mature his preparations, he now determined, in order to extend his line of supply, to seize the strong ground between the Nive and the Adour, and to confine Soult to the immediate vicinity of his own camp. The allied army accordingly advanced on the 9th of December; and the left wing, under Sir John Hope, closely reconnoitred the enemy's entrenchments at Bayonne, with little opposition. Hill passed the Nive by the fords at Cambo, and Clinton's division crossed by the bridge of boats at Ustariz. The French made a stand at Ville Franque, but were dislodged by the light infantry of Clinton's division. In the night, the enemy withdrew all their posts into the town of Bayonne.

The position of the allies being extensive and scattered, and their communications very much impeded by natural obstacles, Soult left Bayonne early on the 10th of December, and advanced with the determination of attacking the left of the line, under Sir John Hope. The French attacked and drove the light division within the village of Arcanques: they then attacked the left, consisting of the 5th division, which received them with great gallantry. General Robinson being wounded, the French compelled General Campbell's Portuguese brigade, and General Robinson's brigade, which supported it, to retire; and thereby they forced the position. By a bold and well-timed movement of the 9th British and a Portuguese battalion, wheeling round suddenly and charging the French rear, the enemy were driven back with loss; but

fresh troops were fast arriving, they again renewed the attempt to dislodge the 5th division, when, at the critical moment, the remainder of the left wing, consisting of the brigade of Guards, brought up from their cantonments under Major-General Howard, opportunely arrived, and, with a close volley and a bayonet-charge, drove back the enemy's attacking columns, in dire confusion and with heavy loss.

These attacks on the left of the line were two or three times repeated, but with similar results. Soult then endeavoured to make an impression on the right wing of the army ; but there he was so roughly handled by Sir Rowland Hill, that he was forced to retire within his fortified lines between the Nive and the Adour, while the allies pushed their advanced posts to the verge of the valley, immediately in front of St. Pierre. In these continued actions, the loss on both sides was immense ; that of the allies amounting to five thousand, and that of the French to six thousand men killed and wounded.

The winter had now set in with severity, and ended all military movements for a season. The French took up cantonments on the right bank of the Adour ; while the allies occupied the country between the left of that river and the sea ; and during the term of inaction which the inclemency of the weather occasioned, one of those periods of conventional civility which not unfrequently occurred during the Peninsular campaigns took place between the French and the allied outposts.* During

* "A daring fellow, an Irishman, named Tom Patten, performed a singular feat. At the barrier there was a rivulet, along which our lines of sentries were posted. To the right was a thick, low wood ; and during the cessation of hostilities our officers had again become intimate with those of the French, and the soldiers had actually established a traffic in tobacco and brandy in the following ingenious manner :—A large stone was placed in that part of the rivulet screened by the wood, opposite to the French sentry, on which our people used to put a canteen with a quarter dollar, for which it was very soon filled with brandy. One afternoon about dusk, Patten had put down his canteen with the usual money in it, and retired ; but though he returned several times, no canteen was there. He waited till the moon rose, but still he found nothing on the stone. When it was near morning, Tom thought he saw the same sentry who was there when he put his canteen down ; so he sprang across the stream, seized the unfortunate Frenchman, wrested his firelock from him, and actually shaking him out of his accoutrements, recrossed, vowing he would keep them

this period, abundant supplies, and the advantage of an open communication with England, enabled the army to recruit its strength: thus, with occasional interruptions of its quiet, the severity of the season passed away, and nothing of moment occurred till about the middle of February, 1814, when Wellington endeavoured to draw Soult from his position near Bayonne, that he might not, by defending the Adour, interfere with the plans he was secretly maturing for the passage of that river.

All necessary preparations for this great object having been completed, with the co-operation of the British navy; and the true channel of the Adour having been discovered, after a number of lives had been lost in fruitless attempts to cross the bar, six-and-twenty *chasse-marées* were brought in, and moored head and stern across that dangerous stream, on which a solid bridge was laid for the passage of the army, a few miles below the city of Bayonne.

Before the flotilla had entered the Adour, or the pontoons had arrived from Bidart, the Guards attempted a passage of the river with the small boats and a temporary raft formed of a few pontoons, and worked as a flying bridge, by means of a hawser extended from the opposite bank. As the strength of the tide interrupted this precarious mode of passage, when only six companies of the Guards and two of the 60th Rifles had crossed, the position of this small body, isolated as it was, and open to the attack of overwhelming numbers, was perilous in the extreme. Colonel Stopford, however, made the best dis-

until he got his canteen of brandy, and brought them to the piquet-house. Two or three hours afterwards, just as we were about to fall in, an hour before day-break, the sergeant came to say that a flag of truce was at the barrier. I instantly went down, when I found the officer of the French piquet in a state of great alarm, saying that a most extraordinary circumstance had occurred (relating the adventure), and stating that, if the sentry's arms and accoutrements were not given back, his own commission would be forfeited, as well as the life of the poor sentry. A sergeant was instantly sent to see if they were in the piquet-house; when Patten came up scratching his head, saying, 'He had them in pawn for a canteen of brandy and a quarter dollar,' and told us the story in his way; whereupon the things were immediately given over to the French captain, who, stepping behind, put two five-franc pieces into Patten's hand. Tom, however, was not to be bribed by an enemy, but generously handed the money to his officer, requesting that he would insist on the French captain taking the money back."—*Cadell*.

positions in his power for defence, and formed with one flank upon the river, and the other appuied upon a morass ; while a few rocket-men were hastily sent across the river, and posted on the sandhills to aid in repelling the enemy ; and two guns of the troops of horse-artillery were so placed on the left bank as to be able to flank by their fire the troops advancing to attack the front of the Guards.

The enemy, to the number of fifteen hundred men, came on a little before the dusk of evening, with drums beating the *pas de charge*, and driving in the piquets sent forward to reconnoitre. The Guards awaited the approach of the French columns till within a short distance of their front, and then commenced a well directed fire ; the guns on the left bank began to cannonade them, and the rockets on the sandhills were discharged with terrific effect, piercing the enemy's column, killing several men, and blazing through it with the greatest violence.* The result was the almost immediate rout of the French ; who, terror-struck at the unusual appearance, and at the effect of this novel and destructive projectile, together with the immovable firmness of the little band, made the best of their retreat back towards the citadel, leaving a number of killed and wounded on the ground. This gallant little combat closed the events of the day.†

In the night, pontoons, used as row-boats, were substituted for the rafts ; and, as only fifteen men passed over each turn, it was not until the evening of the next day that the first division and some cavalry were on the right bank. By the 26th the bridge was constructed, which during the remainder of the war served as the regular communication between Spain and Bordeaux.

The French marshal having retired from Bayonne, and

* There was a prejudice in the army against this weapon, which had hitherto not been used in the field ; but its powers are now established upon the best of all testimonies, that of the enemy ; a striking instance of which occurred at the siege of Flushing, where General Monnet, the French commandant, made a formal remonstrance to Lord Chatham respecting the use of them in that bombardment.

† Colonel Batty.

left a powerful garrison behind him for the protection of that important city, on the evening of the 27th of February it was closely invested by Sir John Hope, with the left wing of the army; the garrison, after a sharp skirmish, being forced back from the villages in front of their lines.*

On the same day Wellington attacked Soult, who was strongly posted near Orthez, and gained a brilliant victory. Soult retreated upon Tarbes and ultimately upon Toulouse, where he fortified himself, determined to make a stand. Owing to the heavy rains and the destruction of the bridges, the French were not closely pursued in their retreat; but the allies came up with them on the 10th of April, at Toulouse, when another glorious victory crowned the British arms. In this, however, there are two things to be deeply deplored: the dreadful loss sustained by both sides in the battle, and the useless effusion of human blood; for on the evening of the 12th an English and a French field-officer arrived at the allied head-quarters, with intelligence that hostilities had ceased with Napoleon on the 3rd, and that the war was virtually terminated by his abdication.

But if this unnecessary expenditure of human life is to be deplored at Toulouse, the wanton slaughter that occurred at Bayonne, four days later, should be marked with the deepest reprobation.

On the night of the 13th of April, two deserters came over to the allied outposts, and gave information that the whole of the garrison was under arms, and prepared to make a sortie on the following morning, though the French were actually in possession of intelligence of the termination of hostilities on the 3rd. At three o'clock, on the morning of the 14th, the British regiments were formed, and ready to receive the enemy, and a false attack was presently made on the 'outposts in front of Anglez.

* "The enemy erected a tall mast on the cavalier of the south-west bastion, supporting a sort of round top, boarded at the sides, for the purpose of placing there a sentinel, who was thus enabled to overlook the positions of the allies all round. This was a subject of great jealousy to our soldiers, who were anxious to see the first cannon directed against so dangerous an overseer, whom they always designated by the name of 'Jack in the box.'"—Colonel Batty.

In the darkness, which was intense; the firing was too apparent in its feebleness not to betray that the attempt was but a feint, and intended only to mask a more determined effort. The true attack was speedily manifest : a desperate sortie was made from the French camp in front of the citadel of Bayonne, directed principally against the position occupied by the second brigade of Guards at St. Etienne, opposite to the citadel. The piquets were partially surprised, Major-General Hay was killed at the first onset, and two French columns, rushing forward with their customary impetuosity, broke through the line of outposts stationed between St. Etienne and St. Bernard ; while another powerful column moved upon the former village, and the whole line of piquets on the right bank of the river became seriously engaged.

A deep hollow way leads through St. Etienne, inclosed in some places by high banks, and at others by garden walls. The ground about this village is everywhere confined, and the communications are few and difficult. Hence, when the advanced line was broken, many of the piquets were totally cut off. In their attempts to retire, several murderous affairs ensued. On both sides the troops, broken into small bodies by the inclosures, and unable to recover their order, came dashing together in the darkness, fighting often with the bayonet, and sometimes friends encountered, sometimes foes : all was tumult and horror. The guns of the citadel, vaguely guided by the flashes of the musketry, sent their shot and shells booming at random through the lines of fight ; and the gun-boats, dropping down the river, opened their fire upon the flank of the supporting columns, which, being put in motion by Sir John Hope on the first alarm, were now coming up from the side of Boucaut. Thus nearly one hundred pieces of artillery were in full play at once ; and the shells having set fire to the fascine depôts, and to several houses, the flames cast a horrid glare over the striving masses.*

On the first alarm, Sir John Hope, with his staff,

• Napier.



THE SORTIE OF BAYONNE.

hastened towards St. Etienne, and, not aware that the village was already in possession of the enemy, he rushed in amongst them : his horse was shot, and he himself was wounded and made prisoner. Other prisoners of less note also fell into the hands of the French ; and amongst these was Colonel Townshend, who commanded the piquets of the Guards.

The first brigade of Guards was now desired to support the right flank, and the second directed to recover the ground that lay between it and the village of St. Etienne. Finding that the attack was limited to the centre of the British lines immediately in front of the citadel, the third battalion of the Guards was detached, under Colonel Stuart, to regain the hollow road, and drive the enemy from the fields in its rear.

These attempts were finally successful. The Coldstream and 1st Foot Guards rushed forward on opposite flanks, cheering loudly as they charged, and broke impetuously through the French, who fled rapidly over the glacis of the citadel, whole sections falling under the musketry of their pursuers.

Towards the close of the action the moon had risen, and as dawn broke over the scene of battle, a spectator could discern the dreadful havoc that had been made. The French and English soldiers and officers were lying on all sides, either killed or wounded ; and so intermixed were they, that there appeared to have been no distinct line belonging to either party.*

The casualties in both brigades of Guards were very heavy in this most wanton and fruitless attack, which closed hostilities on land between two nations that had been engaged in an incessant warfare, with only one year's intermission, from 1793.†

* Colonel Batty.

† At Bayonne occasional instances occurred which showed the extreme accuracy of the French artillerymen in pointing their cannon. A soldier of the German Legion had been posted at the angle of a large house, with directions to look round the corner from time to time, but on no account to remain exposed. Unfortunately, he placed one leg beyond the angle of the building, and in a moment afterwards it was carried off by a cannon-shot.

The operations detailed in this and part of the preceding chapter, having occurred in a district too mountainous for cavalry to act, the Life Guards and Oxford Blues were placed as a corps of reserve and support to the blockade of Pampeluna ; after the surrender of which fortress it was not though, advisable to remove them from Logrono till the spring, when they rejoined the army a few days before the battle of Toulouse, and were in reserve during that engagement.

The campaign having terminated, the Foot Guards marched to Bordeaux, where they embarked for England ; and the Life Guards and Oxford Blues marched all through France to Boulogne, from which port they also returned to their native country.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Preparations for the Campaign of 1815—Relative Strength and Position of the contending Armies—Defeat of the Prussians by Napoleon at Ligny—Ney advances to Quatre Bras—Timely Movement of the Prince of Orange—Hasty Arrival of the British Troops—Battle of Quatre Bras—Desperate Fighting in the Bois de Bossu—The French obtain possession of it—They are gallantly expelled by the Guards—Charge of Kellermann's Cuirassiers driven back by the Guards—The British Army falls back upon Waterloo—Attack of French Lancers repelled by the Life Guards—Position of both Armies at Waterloo—Hougomont the key of the English position—Occupied by the Guards—The French advance to Battle—Furious Attack on Hougomont—Gallantly repelled by the Guards—Renewed Attacks by the French—Hougomont reinforced by the Coldstream and Scots Fusilier Guards—Set on Fire by the Enemy's Shells—But still bravely defended, and the French baffled in all their attempts—Progress of the Battle elsewhere—The British Squares—Meeting of the Life Guards and Cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard—Tremendous Charge of the British Life Guards—Overthrow of the Cuirassiers—D'Erlon's *Corps d'Armée* driven back by Picton—Brilliant Charge of the 2nd Cavalry Brigade—Last Attack of the Old Imperial Guard—"UR, GUARDS, AND AT 'EM!"—Advance of the British Line—Total Rout and Destruction of the French Army.

THERE should be this resemblance between the soldier and the military historian, that both should avoid, as much as possible, political discussion ; and, setting aside all state intrigues and cabinet arrangements, that both should march onwards with all becoming celerity in the straight-forward path of their respective duties. In conformity

with this maxim, we shall spare our readers the oft-repeated narrative of the abdication of the Emperor, the restoration of the Bourbons, and the return of Napoleon from Elba, and hasten forward from the south of France to the Netherlands, that favourite battle-field of European quarrels, as if it were merely the opening of a fresh campaign.*

The military power of France was organised anew. Commissioners, specially employed, enforced the operation of Napoleon's decrees in every department of the kingdom. The Imperial Guard was re-established—the cavalry increased and remounted—that powerful *arme*, the artillery, by which half the victories of the French army had been achieved, was enlarged and improved; and, in a time inconceivably short, a splendid army of 150,000 men, perfect in every department, was ready for the field, in the month of June, 1815.

At this period the Duke of Wellington was at Brussels; the right wing of his army, in and about Ath, was commanded by Lord Hill; the left, in the vicinity of Braine le Comte and Nivelles, was under the Prince of Orange; the Earl of Uxbridge, with the cavalry, was stationed about Grammont; the reserve was in the town and neighbourhood of Brussels. The forces under the Duke of Wellington amounted to seventy-eight thousand five hundred men, but the actual number in the field did not exceed sixty-eight thousand, and of these only twenty-four thousand were British,† including the 1st and 2nd Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards (Blues), two battalions of the 1st regiment of Foot Guards, one battalion of the Coldstream, and the 3rd or Scots Fusilier Guards.

The Prussian army of Blücher, numbering about 130,000 men,‡ were cantoned in and about Namur and Charleroi, where the Emperor arrived on the 14th of

* Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England entered into an agreement not to lay down their arms till Napoleon was again deprived of the supreme power in France. The expenditure of England during the year 1815 amounted to upwards of one hundred and sixteen millions sterling!

† Siborne.

‡ Lamartine. "Restoration of the Bourbons."

June ; and on the following day the battle of Ligny was fought, in which the Prussians were defeated with a heavy loss, but retired in good order from the field.

Meanwhile Ney had been detached by the Emperor, with 40,000 men, to seize immediately on the position of Quatre Bras, and to observe Wellington there, while Napoleon should be engaged with the mass of the grand army, the army of Blücher. Ney seems to have underrated the importance of Quatre Bras ; for he rather slackened his march, and bivouacked on the road on the night of the 15th, which enabled the Prince of Orange to advance 10,000 Dutch and Belgians to occupy the position ; consequently, on the following morning, when Ney expected to have found nothing to oppose his progress but an advance guard, his troops were repeatedly driven back by an already numerous and hourly-increasing *corps d'armée* of the allies.

From the difficulty of obtaining supplies, the British army had been necessarily cantoned over an extensive tract of country ; hence the delay which occurred in concentrating an adequate force on any given point so soon as the Emperor should develop his plan of campaign. Early on the morning of the 16th, however, troops were marching in every direction on Quatre Bras, and coming into action immediately on their arrival ; while the furious onsets of the French, and their repeated failures, sufficiently proved the importance they attached to this position.

But in this little work we are not called upon to give a detailed history of the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, which would very much exceed our limits, and indeed be foreign to our purpose—which is, while doing justice to the heroic acts of THE HOUSEHOLD TROOPS OF ENGLAND, not to claim for that distinguished body a greater share than is justly its due in the glory of those memorable actions.

The village of Quatre Bras, which was fated to obtain a glorious but sanguinary celebrity, consists of a few mean houses, having a thick and extensive wood immediately

on the right, called "le Bois de Bossu." All around the wood and hamlet, rye-fields of enormous growth lay extended quite ready for the sickle. To attain this point was the object of the French marshal, and he spared neither himself nor his troops in his endeavours to accomplish it. After a distressing march of twenty miles and upwards, in sultry weather, and over a country destitute of water, the British brigades reached the scene of action, some at two o'clock, and others later; and even before they had time to deploy they were furiously charged by the French cavalry, the tall rye masking their advance and favouring the attack. These charges were generally unsuccessful, the perfect discipline and steady courage of the English enabling them to repel the enemy. Lancers and Cuirassiers were driven back with desperate slaughter; while whole squadrons, shattered in their retreat, and leaving the ground covered with their dead and dying, proved with what fatal precision the British squares sustained their fusilade.

Throughout this sanguinary day the Bois de Bossu had continued to be the scene of a severe and fluctuating combat. Before the arrival of the British, the Prince of Orange, unable to withstand the physical superiority of Ney's corps, had gradually lost ground, the Hanoverians had been driven back, and the Bois de Bossu was won and occupied by the enemy. To recover this most important wood, from which the French could debouche upon the road to Brussels, was the Duke's first object; the 95th* were therefore ordered to attack the *tirailleurs* who held it: the order was gallantly executed, and after a bloody and sustained resistance the French were forced to retire.

This wood, however, was the key of the position, and the French were determined to have it, *coute qui coute*. They accordingly renewed the attack, under a heavy cannonade, and supported by a cavalry movement, when the Rifles were overpowered by numbers and forced to retire, fighting inch by inch, and contesting every tree. At last

* Now the Rifle Brigade.

Ney established himself within the wood, and ordered up a considerable addition to the light troops, who had already occupied this important point of the position. The contest was at its height ; the incessant assaults of the enemy were wasting the British regiments ; but, with the exception of the Bois de Bossu, not an inch of ground was lost.

At this period of the battle, the Foot Guards, after a march of five-and-twenty miles, arrived from Enghien, whence they had moved at three o'clock in the morning. Exhausted by heat and fatigue, they had halted at Nivelles, lighted fires, and prepared to cook their dinners. But the increasing roar of cannon announced that the Duke was seriously engaged, and a staff-officer brought orders to hurry on. The bivouac was instantly broken up, the kettles packed, the rations abandoned, and the wearied troops cheerfully resumed their march.

The path to the field of battle could not be mistaken : the roar of cannon was succeeded by the roll of musketry, which at every step became more clearly audible ; and waggons heaped with wounded British and Brunswickers interspersed, told that the work of death was going on.

The Guards, indeed, came up at a fortunate crisis. The Bois de Bossu was won ; and the *tirailleurs* of the enemy, debouching from its cover, were about to deploy upon the roads that it commanded, and thus intercept the Duke's communication with the Prussians. The 5th division, sadly reduced, could hardly hold their ground ; any offensive movement on their part was impracticable ; and the French *tirailleurs* were actually issuing from the wood, but, on perceiving the advancing columns, they halted.

The 1st brigade of Guards, having loaded and fixed bayonets, were ordered to advance ; and, wearied as they were with a fifteen hours' march, they cheered and pushed forward. In vain the thickly-planted trees impeded them ; and although every bush and coppice was held and disputed by the enemy, the *tirailleurs* were driven in on

every side. Taking advantage of a rivulet which crossed the wood, the enemy attempted to form, and arrest the progress of the Guards; but that stand was momentary—they were forced from their position, and the wood once more was carried by the British.

“Ney,” says Lamartine,* “stood aghast and shook with rage, for he could do nothing more unaided. His infantry and cavalry having both been engaged and decimated for three hours past, were incapable of renewing an assault against an army which was increasing every instant. He had no other regiments unbroken but two of Cuirassiers under Kellermann, and these were scarcely enough to cover the army should the English advance their cavalry into the plain. The batteries hurriedly thrown up by Wellington, at the other side of the forest, were incessantly vomiting forth grape and round-shot upon his regiments. ‘You see those balls,’ said he to Labédoyère; ‘would to Heaven they had all passed through my body!’ The despair of the unfortunate marshal inspired him with a final effort, hopeless as his own heart. He galloped up to Kellermann, and cried to him in a supplicating voice, ‘One more effort, my dear general! Dash forward with your two regiments at the heart of the English army, and break it at any cost. I will support you with Piré, who is re-forming his regiments. Your country demands it of you!’

“‘Charge!’ cried Kellermann, without hesitation, to his Cuirassiers; and, like a thunderbolt, he dashed upon the centre of the English army, which he broke with irresistible fury, passing through both lines, destroying the batteries, and penetrating as far as the fortified farm of Quatre Bras. The walls and hedges of this post were lined with a reserve of infantry, who poured in a close and heavy fire upon the Cuirassiers. Kellermann’s horse was struck, and rolled over with his rider, covered with blood. He was immediately surrounded by the English; but delivered by a charge of Cuirassiers. A French column

* “Restoration of the Bourbons.”

of infantry, entering by the breach which Kellermann's cavalry had made in the English lines, penetrated as far as Quatre Bras; when Wellington from above despatched Count d'Alten's division and the English Guards to engage them. There fresh and irresistible forces drove back the French infantry, and Ney yielded to impossibilities."

Throughout this desperate struggle the Guards not only maintained their ground with firm intrepidity, but repulsed at all points the frequent and desperate charges of Kellermann's cavalry, seconded by two *corps d'armée* and an immense preponderance of artillery. Their gallantry terminated the fight of Quatre Bras; and a more glorious victory was never won by British bravery.

Ney fell back upon the road to Frasnes, and the British army bivouacked on the field it had so nobly defended; but as Blucher, after his defeat at Ligny, was unable to retain his position at Sombref, and had retired to concentrate at Wavre, a corresponding movement became necessary for Wellington, whose army fell back, on the morning of the 17th, in perfect order, through Genappe upon Waterloo. The two light companies of the 2nd brigade of Guards, being ordered to mask the retreat on the right, did not leave the ground till past two o'clock on that afternoon.

The rear of the infantry and artillery having proceeded some miles along the great road from Quatre Bras through Genappe, the cavalry commenced retiring by brigades in succession—each brigade re-forming as soon as it arrived in the rear of the column. It was a fine military spectacle, performed in the face of an adverse army, and was beautifully executed. The enemy's cavalry appeared in great force; the main body of his army moved on Quatre Bras, and his advance-guard began to press on the rear of the retiring army. To check his advance, the 7th Hussars charged a corps of French Lancers, in the town of Genappe; but the Lancers having their flanks secure, presented an almost impenetrable row of pikes; and they were enabled

to repel the charge of the Hussars. The 7th repeated the attack, but failed to make an impression on the enemy; and the French cavalry continuing to press forward, the 1st Life Guards was wheeled about by the Earl of Uxbridge, and, charging the enemy, the weight and fury of these powerful, heavy horsemen proved irresistible: the Lancers were overthrown and pursued in terrible disorder through the streets of Genappe. With the exception of an occasional cannonade, the remainder of the march on Waterloo was undisturbed by the French advance. About five o'clock in the evening the troops got into position, and bivouacked during the night, amidst a storm of wind and rain, thunder and lightning, which rendered the eve of this battle anything but a season of repose.

In front of the English position the surface declined for a quarter of a mile, and rose again for an equal distance, till it terminated in a ridge of easy access, which was occupied by the enemy: the intermediate space between the armies being covered by a rich crop of rye ready for the sickle. In the rear the forest of Soignies extended, intersected by the great roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and nearly at the entrance of the wood was situated the village of Waterloo. The farm-house of La Haye Sainte, in front of the left centre, was defended by a Hanoverian battalion; and the château of Hougomont, in advance of the right centre, was occupied, in the first instance, by two light companies of Foot Guards, and a few companies of Nassau Riflemen. This was the strongest point, and, in fact, the key of the whole position; it consisted of an old tower, a chapel, and some outbuildings, partly surrounded by a farm-yard. It had also a garden, inclosed by a high, strong brick wall; and round the garden a wood of beech-trees, an orchard, and a hedge, with a pond in another part which served as a moat. These defences were further strengthened by loopholing, and erecting scaffolding, to enable the troops to fire from the top of the wall. The gates also were barricaded, with the exception of one in the rear, which was left open intentionally; these pre-

cautions assisted materially in making good to the most memorable defence, perhaps, recorded in the annals of modern warfare.

Wellington's first line, comprising some of his best regiments, was drawn up behind these posts ; the second was farther in the rear ; and the third, still more retired, was formed of the cavalry. The division of Foot Guards, under General Cooke, in the first line, was posted on a rise immediately adjoining the Chteau of Hougomont.

About eleven o'clock on the 18th of June, the French army, commanded by Bonaparte in person, was seen advancing to give battle ; and as their massy divisions approached, the uniform order of their movements, and the gradual development of successive columns, gave them an imposing and magnificent appearance. After the usual skirmishing of light troops had continued for a brief period, the first gun was fired from a battery in front of the 2nd brigade of Guards, and made a gap for a moment in the head of the column commanded by Prince Jerome Bonaparte, as it moved to the attack on Hougomont. Four hundred guns in line, on both sides of the basin of Waterloo, seemed to reply simultaneously to this signal. The thundering noise of these batteries rent and scattered the clouds which had hung until then upon the heights, and the summer sun shone for a moment in the pure sky ; but the immense smoke of the cannonade soon spreading from Hougomont to the defiles of St. Lambert, rose up the hills, and covered the valley like a heavy mist torn by the gleaming of a hundred thousand flashes of lightning.*

Eighty pieces of French cannon in battery before Hougomont replied to the English batteries in the rear and above that position, which carried death into the attacking columns of Guilleminot, Chief of the Staff, and of Jerome Bonaparte, recently an inglorious king, but on this day a gallant soldier. In spite of the murderous fire of the English troops, who defended from tree to tree the

* Lamurtine. " Restoration of the Bourbons."

wood which surrounded the castle, Jerome Bonaparte, Guillemot, and Reille carried this inclosure, which was strewn with dead bodies. But on reaching the walls, the dykes and the hedges, which served as so many defences to the castle, the French columns falling fast, recoiled, hesitated, advanced, and again recoiled under the grape-shot of forty pieces of artillery, and the musketry of the battalions ensconced within the court-yards, in the gardens, and behind the walls. Reille reinforced his columns in proportion to the desperate resistance they experienced ; and a long, terrible, and furious combat took place, with varying success, under the walls and in the orchards of Hougomont. Seven times the French troops penetrated through the breach and gate-way to the court-yard of the castle, and as often were they driven back with the bayonet, by the Grenadiers of the Guards.*

General Foy, having chased the Nassau troops before him, passed through the wood and surrounded the château : all attempts to rally these men proving fruitless, Lieutenant-Colonel Mackinnon, with the Grenadiers and first company of the Coldstream Guards, moved to the support of the place, and the enemy were forced back. Colonel Woodford, also, leaving the seventh and eighth companies in the position for the protection of the colours, brought down the rest of the battalion. The entrance of the wood was attacked in the most gallant manner by the Coldstream, under Colonel Woodford : they cheered and drove the enemy back with the bayonet ; but the powerful resistance they met with could not be overcome, and they entered Hougomont. The 3rd Guards, which had been sent to support the castle, by detachments of two companies at intervals, now occupied the orchard, when Colonel Woodford entered with the Coldstream.

The enemy were undaunted in their attacks ; but Hougomont was defended with a calm and stubborn gallantry, which alone could have enabled so small a force to resist the repeated and fierce assaults of thirty thou-

* Lamartine. "Restoration of the Bourbons."

sand men, of whom the second French corps was composed. About one o'clock a cart of ammunition, which had been sent for early in the day, was brought into the farm-yard of Hougomont, and proved most seasonable. The men had only time to fill their pouches, when a discharge of artillery suddenly burst upon them, mingled with the shouts of a column rushing on to a fresh attack. A cloud of *tirailleurs* pushed through the wood and corn-fields : they were aimed at with fatal certainty from the loop-holes, windows, and summits of the building. But the enemy eventually compelled the few men that remained outside to withdraw into the château by the rear gate. In the meantime, the French redoubled their efforts against it, and the fire of the immediate defenders of that point for a moment ceased. The gate was then forced. At this critical moment Colonel Macdonell, who then commanded, rushed to the spot with the officers and men nearest at hand, and not only expelled the assailants, but reclosed the gate. The enemy, from their overwhelming numbers, again entered the yard ; when the Guards retired to the house, and kept up from the windows such a destructive fire that the French were driven out, and the gate once more closed.

At last, despairing of success, the French artillery opened with shells upon the house, and the old tower of Hougomont was quickly in a blaze : the fire reached the chapel, and many of the wounded, both assailants and defenders, perished miserably there. But still, though the flames raged above, shells burst around, and shot ploughed through the shattered walls and windows, the Guards nobly held the place, and to the very last Hougomont remained untaken. When the contention terminated, the French dead lay piled round the château, in the wood, and in every avenue leading to it ; and it was computed that Napoleon's repeated and desperate attacks upon this post cost him eight thousand men. The British lost fourteen hundred in the defence.

Meanwhile the battle raged with fury in other parts of

the field, and the firing of all kinds became terrific. Incessant volleys of musketry, the roar of cannon, the clash of arms, and the shouts of the combatants, manifested the fury of the assailants, and the undaunted resistance of the assailed. The advance of Jerome on the right was followed by a general onset upon the British line, three hundred pieces of artillery opening their cannonade, and the French columns in different points advancing to the attack. Charges of cavalry and infantry, sometimes separately and sometimes with united force, were made in vain. The British regiments were disposed individually in square, three deep; all placed sufficiently apart to allow each to deploy when requisite. The squares were mostly parallel, but a few were judiciously thrown back; and this disposition, when the French cavalry had passed the advanced regiments, exposed them to a flanking fire from the squares behind. The English cavalry were in rear of the infantry, and the artillery in battery in front of the line. The fight of Waterloo may be easily comprehended, by simply stating that for ten hours it was a continued succession of attacks by the French columns on the squares; the British artillery playing upon them as they advanced, and the cavalry charging when they receded. So great, however, was the impetuosity of the various attacks, that the first line of the Anglo-Belgic army was somewhat shaken; and a body of Cuirassiers was ascending the crest of the position, when the first cavalry brigade, under Lord Edward Somerset, deployed, and advanced to confront these renowned warriors, the boasted veterans of fifty battles.

The French Cuirassiers came on in the pride of assumed superiority, and with all that martial bearing and daring audacity so remarkably evinced by that *arme* throughout the day: they were supported by a heavy cannonade; and as their charging ranks, bright in polished armour, appeared issuing from the smoke, their advance was singularly imposing. A crowd of infantry and artillery fled before them; and as they ascended the acclivity, they

shouted, waved their swords in exultation, and pressed forward as to certain victory.

When they had gained the summit of the elevated ground, before them appeared the first British brigade, a noble spectacle of ten squadrons of superb heavy cavalry, advancing at a brisk trot, and preserving a firm bearing, while the French artillery rent chasms in their ranks. The 1st Life Guards, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Ferrier, were on the right of the brigade; the 2nd Life Guards, led by the Honourable Edward P. Lygon, were on the left; and the Oxford Blues and 1st Dragoon Guards in the centre. A spirit of emulation and a thirst for glory animated both officers and men; while the flying infantry and artillery, as they passed through the intervals, felt their confidence instantly restored; and, facing about, they followed the advancing squadrons, cheering as they ran.

Scarcely had the British troopers gained a glance at their mailed antagonists, when Lord Edward Somerset waved his sword as a signal to charge: a loud huzza arose, which was repeated by all the infantry in that part of the field, and the next moment these powerful horsemen dashed at full speed upon their steel-clad adversaries. The sight was magnificent! The foaming ranks of war, rushing upon each other with terrific violence, presented a spectacle calculated to fire the breast of every spectator: the thunder of artillery and volleys of musketry ceased at that part of the field, as if every eye was turned to witness the result of this tremendous charge. The smoke clearing away, the Life Guards were seen pursuing and cutting down their discomfited antagonists, and spreading terror, dismay, and carnage over the field. The Cuirassiers, although in every respect the *élite* of the French army, and, like the mailed warriors of chivalry, "locked up in steel," were completely overthrown, cut down, and driven back, *l'épée dans les reins*.*

* *Historical Record of the Life Guards.*—The following anecdote is illustrative of the terror produced in the enemy by the tremendous attack of The

Meanwhile an attack was made upon the British left ; and D'Erlon's *corps d'armée*, comprising several thousand French infantry, had gained the summit of the position ; but Picton, deploying his division into line, gave them a volley and dashed at them with the bayonet, falling, alas ! as he did so, in the arms of victory. Lord Anglesea seized the critical moment, as the enemy were retreating in close column, and, charging with the Royal Dragoons, the Scots Greys, and Eunniskilliners, broke through the dense masses of the French infantry and totally overwhelmed them, taking upwards of two thousand prisoners, with the eagles of the 45th and 105th regiments, in this brilliant charge.

The day was now far advanced, and Napoleon, having utterly failed against both wings, resolved to bend all his efforts against the centre of the British forces, upon which a succession of attacks was made by regiments or brigades of cavalry ; but these were uniformly unsuccessful. The British infantry was thrown into squares of battalions, which, invariably reserving their fire till the near approach of the assailants, always delivered it with murderous effect ; while the batteries along the front, though repeatedly in possession of the enemy, were, nevertheless, as they were successively relinquished, re-occupied by the British gunners, who, having momentarily sought shelter behind the infantry, again quickly commenced their destructive volleys.

At length, about eight o'clock in the evening, Bonaparte, resolving on a last desperate effort, ordered to the

Household Cavalry. Immediately after the first charge, while the Life Guards were pursuing the French, three of the Cuirassiers turned down a narrow lane, with a view of escaping that way ; and they were pursued by Private John Johnson, of the 2nd regiment. There proved to be no thoroughfare at the end of the road, when Johnson, though alone, attacked the three ; and, after a slight resistance, they surrendered themselves prisoners. The names of Corporal Shaw and Private Godley, of the 2nd Life Guards, are, of course, familiar to our readers : the former for his great prowess, and the number of Cuirassiers he slew ; and the latter for a distinguished act of bravery : namely, when his horse was killed, himself wounded, and his helmet knocked off, bareheaded as he was, he attacked a Cuirassier, slew him, and mounted his horse. Shaw was killed in the first charge. Godley lived several years after ; and a stone was erected to his memory by his comrades, in the burial-ground of St. John's Wood, London, with appropriate devices and inscription.

front the whole of his reserve, consisting of the old Imperial Guard. These, formed in contiguous columns of regiments, supported by troops of the line and by the remains of his once formidable cavalry, advanced against the British centre, the theatre of so many deadly conflicts. Bonaparte addressed them as they passed, and Ney placed himself at their head. Those warlike bands, accustomed to decide the fate of battles, preserving a kind of savage silence, marched with a firm and solemn step over the carcasses of men and horses which obstructed their way. As onward they came in one enormous mass, the tremendous massacre executed by our front and flanking batteries, at grape and point-blank range, may easily be conceived. Lanes were perceptibly made, as the round shot penetrated and traversed their numerous columns, till at length they evidently faltered: their whole force was committed—their situation was desperate.

Meanwhile the fresh troops of our second corps had been brought up into line, and the Prussians at length arriving in force were, by threatening the flank and rear of the French, in a situation to co-operate. Thus was effected the masterly combination originally contemplated by the Duke of Wellington; as the French right fell back, the British moved gradually forward; and, converging from the extreme points of Merke Braine and Braine-la-Leud, compressed their extent of line, and nearly assumed the form of a crescent. The Foot Guards were considerably advanced, and, having deployed behind the crest of the hill, lay down to avoid the cannonade with which Napoleon covered the onset of his best troops. Although the leading files of the French Guard were swept off by the exterminating fire of the English batteries, as they approached the crest where the Household Troops were couching, still their undaunted intrepidity carried them forward, and they gallantly crossed the ridge.

Then came the hour of British triumph. The magic

word was spoken, "Up, Guards, and at 'em!" In a moment the Household Infantry Brigade were on their feet; then waiting till the French closed, they delivered a murderous volley, cheered, and rushed forward with the bayonet, Wellington in person directing the attack.

With the 42nd and 95th, the British leader threw himself on Ney's flank, and rout and destruction succeeded, while the British cavalry seized on the moment of confusion, and, plunging into the mass, cut down and disorganised the regiments which had hitherto been unbroken. Presently all semblance of order was lost; equipages of all sorts, flying in all directions, choked the road, and rendered it impassable; the cannoneers abandoned their guns, the waggon-train cut their traces, and the ruins of those fierce and numerous legions, so lately meditating only rapine and conquest—infantry, cavalry, all arms mingling in utter confusion—fled along the road and over the fields in one vast undistinguishable mass; while the allied squadrons, giving them no respite, poured on their shattered flanks and rear.

The firing had ceased. At this moment the setting sun, hitherto obscured, cast a gleam over the fields, and more distinctly disclosed this triumphant and unparalleled scene!

The Anglo-Belgic army halted on the heights of La Belle Alliance, the ground of which the enemy had been dispossessed, and bivouacked, surrounded by their ensanguined trophies; while to the Prussians, being comparatively fresh, was allotted the pleasing task of urging the pursuit, and gratifying their deep revenge.

As in a well-enacted drama, when the *dénouement* takes place, and the virtues and sufferings of the hero and heroine are duly rewarded, the interest of the spectator ceases, and all minor details are looked upon as

the fresh complexions and unadorned lips of our military men. Be it so : we can very well afford to join in the merriment ; but, without impugning the bravery of the *vieux grognard* and the *vieux moustache*, we may venture to express our firm conviction that the English Guardsman of the present day offers the *beau idéal* of the true soldier : graceful and manly in appearance, mild in demeanour, a gentleman in quarters, and a lion in the field.

THE END.

LONDON :

SALISBURY, BROWN, AND CO., PRINTERS, BOUVERIE STREET, FLEET STREET.

We have thus, to the best of our poor ability, endeavoured to trace the history of THE HOUSEHOLD TROOPS OF ENGLAND, from their first formation to the termination of that war in which they won so many laurels, and we trust that one or two good results may spring from our humble labours. Many people who are not conversant with our military history are in the habit of looking on our Household Troops as a piece of pageantry and show, kept up at a heavy expense for the mere gratification of the Sovereign. We trust that our little book will tend to disabuse the public of this great mistake. The Household Troops are, doubtless, an important feature in all regal pageantry; and never could a sovereign boast a nobler body of men in all military essentials of appearance, equipment, and discipline: but far beyond even this high praise is the merit of the Guards, in the services they have rendered at home during many a popular commotion, when that spirit of disaffection which is "the madness of many for the gain of a few" would have otherwise reduced all government, property, and national happiness below the value of a pin's fee: but greater still has been their merit in those foreign fields of fame, where, with very little intermission, they have fought, either in brigade, single battalion, or detachment, against the mad designs of universal conquest which, under a Louis or a Napoleon, have so often perilled our existence as a nation—services which have won for them immortal honour at Dettingen, at Fontenoy, at Lincelles, at Alexandria, at Talavera, at Busaco, at Vittoria, and at Waterloo.

We have now only further to remark that we have drawn the materials of our little volume from the most authentic sources, and have carefully divested it of all stage heroism or melodramatic effect, to conform in every respect with the character of the troops we have endeavoured to delineate. Our Continental neighbours seem to have a morbid affection for military swagger, ferocious looks, and hairy faces; and occasionally make merry at

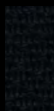
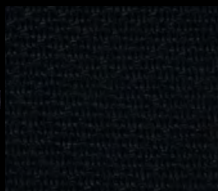
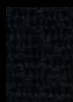
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